

THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH OF CANADA:
THE CHANGING IDENTITY (1990-2013)

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By
YURIY KIRUSHOK

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University of Saskatchewan
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ABSTRACT

This research is dedicated to the modern history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. Drawing on the analysis of the major events in the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada and fieldwork at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon, this research explores the institutional response to sociocultural change and examines how the institutional practices and strategies of adaptation impact the spiritual lives of church followers. To do so, I have addressed the following questions: how has the institutional identity of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada changed over time and particularly in the period of 1990-2013; what are the features of this institutional identity change and how do these changes impact the regular Church members lives; how have the adherents of the UOCC defined for themselves the meaning of being the members of the Ukrainian Orthodox community in Canada? Looking at both the institutional development of the UOCC and then focusing on a particular parish and its experiences with institutional changes, I am presenting insights as to how religious and ethnic identities of the UOCC have been intersecting, reshaping, and evolving in the period of 1990-2013.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Setting the Scene

In September 2011, I arrived to Saskatoon as an international student from Ukraine to start my studies in the Master of Arts Religious Studies program at the University of Saskatchewan. I came to Saskatoon with the intention to research the modern history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada (UOCC).¹ The first weekend after my arrival to Canada, I proceeded to the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon, located on the 20th Street.² Knowing that Ukrainians in Saskatoon were especially instrumental in the formation of the UOCC, I was very interested to begin my studies with a visit to this Cathedral.

Approaching the 20th Street, still far away, I spotted the onion domes of the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity. Because of its distinctive Byzantine architecture this Cathedral looked quite similar to many churches in Ukraine. It felt as if I was walking toward the church in a city in Ukraine. As I entered the building, an usher greeted me warmly. He directed me to an unoccupied pew, where I stayed until the end of the Sunday liturgy. It was easy for me to follow the sequence of the liturgy because I was raised as an Orthodox Christian. A choir accompanied the liturgy, singing in Ukrainian the tunes of Ukrainian composers. A priest delivered the liturgy both in Ukrainian and in English and then delivered his sermon by

1 'The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada' was the first official name of this Church. For the sake of clarity and consistency, I am using the current name of the Church 'The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada' throughout this thesis. The name 'The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada' has been used as an official name of the Church since 1990, when the name change was ratified by an amendment in the Charter of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. See Roman Yereniuk, *The Ukrainian Orthodox Church: selected historical topics of the XVII –XVIII centuries and the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora* (Lviv: Litopys, 2010), p. 269; and *The Ukrainian Orthodox Church: Charter*, accessed June 1, 2014, <http://www.uocc.ca/pdf/documents/UOCC%20Charter.pdf>.

The word 'Church' is capitalized when it is referring to a religious denomination (ex. Ukrainian Orthodox Church) or religious denominations (ex. Orthodox Churches).

2 See the photo of the street with the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon in Appendix A. 'The Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon' is the official name of this religious community. The name 'The Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Saskatoon' is also sometimes used. For the sake of clarity and consistency, I will use the name 'Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon' when referring to the church building. When referring to the group of the Ukrainian Orthodox Christians united in the community around this Cathedral, I will use the name 'Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish.' According to the By-Laws of The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, 'parish' is a community or congregation of Orthodox Christians who adhere to the faith, dogma, doctrine and rites of the Church, have organized for religious worship and instruction, who have affiliated with the Church, and who have a building or facility for their own house of worship. See *Revised By-Laws of The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada*, accessed November 21, 2013, <http://www.uocc.ca/pdf/documents/UOCC%20Bylaws.Amended.July%2015.2010.pdf>.

alternating both languages. In general, most of what I saw at the Cathedral corresponded with my own preconceived ideas of what a church service³ might be like.

For me, two issues stood out from my initial visit. First, in addition to English and Ukrainian, I heard some parishioners using the Russian language in their conversations with each other. It seemed unusual to me, because, historically, Ukrainian Orthodox communities in Canada saw Russia as an oppressor to the Ukrainian nation and Ukrainian Church, and anything Russian was not particularly welcomed. Therefore, I wondered about the presence of the Russian-speaking attendees at the church service and became curious about any reserved attitudes towards Russians or Russian speakers within the congregation.⁴ I wondered whether they felt welcomed and integrated in the Ukrainian Orthodox parish. Secondly, I saw congregants, who, I presumed, were of African descent. Later on, I learnt that these congregants were an Eritrean family, and that a few more Eritreans visited this Cathedral on a regular basis. I stumbled upon the questions why Eritreans chose to attend this Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, and how they were treated within the community of Caucasian parishioners, most of who were of Ukrainian ethnic background?

1.2. Religion and Ethnicity

The different languages spoken and the presence of people from different cultural backgrounds in the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon challenged my own assumptions about the UOCC, urging me to think about the relationship between religion and ethnicity in contemporary Canada. How do religion and ethnicity interact? What is the relationship between ethnicity and religion in Canada? How does this question play itself in the Ukrainian Orthodoxy? The questions about interplay of religion and ethnicity are especially relevant, because many of the currently existing religions in Canada resulted as a direct outcome of immigration.

British sociologist Anthony Smith in his studies on ethnicity argues that an organized religion is one of the bases in the formation of *ethnie* (ethnic group).⁵ He defines an ethnic group as a collective of individuals with a collective name who have a common myth of descent, a

3 I use the term 'church service' as a general name for the prayers and ceremonies conducted at the place of worship. The most popular kind of the church service in Eastern Orthodoxy is a liturgy.

4 I use the term 'congregation' to define a group of people assembled for religious worship.

5 Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1988).

shared history, a distinctive shared culture, an association with a specific territory, and a sense of solidarity.⁶ According to Smith, “organized religions often reinforce ethnic sentiments and form distinctive religion-ethnic communities.”⁷ He states that the origin myths of *ethnie* and religious beliefs about creation and their location in the cosmos are closely related. Consequently, priests may become effective channels to diffuse ethnic myths and symbols. Among different examples that he used to support his argument, he referred to the Byzantine Greek community that defined its sense of separate identity with the support of Orthodoxy following the collapse of the Byzantine Empire. Smith argues that the Orthodox Church became a powerful political force to unify scattered Greeks and to help preserve their ethnic identity. The Greek community became identified with the belief that they will be liberated as oppressed bearers of Christian truth.⁸

Religion has played an important role not only in the formation of ethnicity but also in the preservation of immigrants’ distinctive ethnic identity. British religious studies scholar Kim Knott argues that religion should not be reduced to a passive role in the formation of ethnic identity.⁹ Instead, she proposed to identify how the content of religion is changing and to find out why these changes occur. Knott proposed a framework to study ethnicity and religion and developed a list of question to address the interplay of religion and ethnicity – what effect does the ethnic experience have on religion; what strategies do religious groups in ethnic communities pursue to survive and grow; what are the discernible stages in the process of religious change following transplantation of religion; how do religious groups cope with change, not just after transplantation but later when second or third generations of settlers constitute their membership; and finally what issues are of particular symbolic significance in the reproduction of these religions in their new location.¹⁰ The aforementioned framework may be applied in relation to the Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Canada. In this thesis, I try to get a better understanding of the interplay of Ukrainian ethnicity and religion by answering the questions about the strategies of adaptation and survival of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Canada, transmission of the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition from one generation to another and cultural reproduction in Canada.

6 Smith, *Ethnic Origins of Nations*, p. 21–29.

7 Smith, *Ethnic Origins of Nations*, p. 35.

8 Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, p. 66.

9 Kim Knott, “Religion and Identity in Understanding the Ethnic Experience,” *Community Religious Project Research papers no. 7* (The University of Leeds, 1992), p. 12.

10 Knott, “Religion and Identity,” p. 12.

Religious studies scholars have argued that immigrants' religions¹¹ are not simply transplanted to new settings, but, in fact, continue to evolve in their efforts to adapt to ever changing realities of a host country, especially in modern times. This statement proves true for the Canadian religious scene. In particular, Paul Bramadat states that "religious ideas, texts, rituals, symbols, and institutions are in the end redeployed by newer Canadians in a uniquely Canadian way."¹² Canadian scholars focusing on Christianity and ethnicity in Canada have proved that contemporary religious denominations are much more diverse than they used to be. Paul Bramadat and David Seljak emphasize that it is no longer possible to identify ethnic groups with specific ethnic Churches because it has become more common for individuals to make distinctions between their religious and ethnic identities.¹³ One of the reasons for this change is that individuals today have more freedom to define themselves rather than to accept identities that family and community ascribe. Thus, the question arises: how do religious and ethnic identities interplay in today's generation of Canadians.

1.3. Thesis Question

With my interest in Eastern Orthodoxy and specifically in the Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Canada, I have turned to explore how the UOCC has been adapting to the changing realities of Canadian life. The main goals of my thesis are twofold. On one hand, I explore the institutional response to sociocultural change. On the other end, I examine how the institutional practices and strategies of adaptation impact the spiritual lives of church followers. Here I pursue this question:

11 In this thesis, I use the definition of religion proposed by Bruce Lincoln. He argued that a proper definition of religion should attend to at least four domains: 1. A discourse whose concerns transcend the human, temporal, and contingent, and thus claims for itself a similarly transcendent status. 2. A set of practices whose goal is to produce a proper world and/or proper human subjects, as defined by a religious discourse to which these practices are connected. 3. A community whose members construct their identity with reference to a religious discourse and its attendant practices. 4. An institution that regulates religious discourse, practice, and community, reproducing them over time and modifying them as necessary, while asserting their eternal validity and transcendent value. See Bruce Lincoln, *Holy Terrors: Thinking About Religion after September 11* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 5-7.

12 Paul Bramadat, *Religion and Ethnicity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), p. 13.

13 Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p.18-19.

Here and later I use the term 'generation' to distinguish between people who were born in Canada and the ones who were born outside of Canada. People born outside of Canada are the first generation. The second generation refers to those who are Canadian-born and have at least one parent who was born outside Canada. The third generation or more are people who are Canadian-born and whose parents and possibly grandparents were Canadian-born.

how, in the context of changing institutional identity, do parishioners define for themselves the meaning of being members of a contemporary Ukrainian Orthodox community?

My observations at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon alerted me that the UOCC is very much an example of how an ethnic Church may modify over time, experiencing socio-demographic change within its membership and introducing new features into its policies and religious practice. I follow the postulates of such scholars as Kim Knott, Paul Bramadat, and David Seljak, who encourage scholars to go beyond looking at the religions of immigrants as the tools for preservation of ethnicity, and to study the changing nature of religious traditions once they have established themselves in the host countries.

One important reason to explore the UOCC is that Eastern Orthodoxy is probably the least studied among different religious traditions in Canada. Despite the fact that Eastern Orthodox Christians have been present in Canada for over a century, the Eastern Orthodox Churches continue to be excluded from many discussions on religion in Canada. The organizational fragmentation of Eastern Orthodoxy may explain this omission.¹⁴ Rather than being a unified body, many Churches represent Eastern Orthodoxy in Canada: Ukrainian, Greek, Antiochian,¹⁵ Russian, Romanian, Serbian, Bulgarian, and Macedonian Orthodox Churches.¹⁶ According to the 2011 Canada Census, 550,690 people in Canada identified themselves as Orthodox Christians, including 313,640 people who were not born in Canada (both Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox).¹⁷ 23,845 people in Canada identified themselves as Ukrainian

14 'Eastern Orthodoxy,' which is also called 'Orthodox Christianity,' 'Eastern Orthodox Church,' may be understood as a commonwealth of the fourteen Churches: Ecumenical Patriarchate, Alexandrian Patriarchate, Antiochian Patriarchate, Moscow Patriarchate, Serbian Patriarchate, Georgian Patriarchate, Bulgarian Patriarchate, Romanian Patriarchate, Church of Cyprus, Church of Greece, Albanian Church, Polish Church, Czech and Slovak Church. These Churches are called 'local' or 'autocephalous.' The words 'local' or 'autocephalous' indicate that these Churches are independent, self-sufficient, and mutually recognize each other as a legitimate Church. Other Churches that are identified as Orthodox but do not belong to this Commonwealth are labeled by the above-mentioned 14 Churches as 'uncanonical.' Although the official names of the Orthodox Churches do not contain the word 'Eastern,' this adjective is often used in relation to these Churches to distinguish them from the Western Church (Catholic Church) and Oriental Orthodox Churches. Oriental Orthodoxy consists of six Churches: Coptic, Ethiopian, Eritrean, Armenian Apostolic, Malankara Syrian, and Syriac Churches. They have many similarities to the Eastern Orthodox Churches, but Eastern Orthodoxy and Oriental Orthodoxy split in 5th century over differences in theological understanding of Jesus Christ and also for political reasons.

15 Antiochian Orthodox Church is an autocephalous Orthodox Church with its centre in Damascus, Syria. The majority of the Church members are Arab Orthodox Christians from Lebanon, Syria, Iran, Iraq, and Kuwait.

16 Most of these Churches maintain ties (administrative or symbolical) with the Patriarchates in Eastern Europe and the Middle East.

17 "2011 National Household Survey in Canada," accessed January 1, 2014, <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/index-eng.cfm?HPA>.

Orthodox in the Census.¹⁸ On the other hand, the Consistory of the UOCC reported recently just over 5,000 parishioners.¹⁹ With a relatively small number of parishioners, the UOCC has a large network of about 250 parishes, spread across Canada. I believe that by focusing on the UOCC, I will fill in some blind spots within the contemporary scholarship on the Eastern Orthodox Churches in Canada as well as shed more light on the complex relationship between religion and ethnicity.

1.4. Thesis Organization

To pursue my goals I explored the following two questions. First, I discuss the changing institutional identity of the UOCC in the last quarter of the 20th century. Second, relying on my ethnographic work conducted at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon, I examine the impact of these institutional changes on regular members of the Church and the life of the parish.

To contextualize my discussion in history, I present in chapter one a brief overview of the history of the UOCC from the time of its formation in 1918 until 1990. I first describe the immigration of Ukrainians to Canada. Then, I outline the establishment of the Church and the formation of the fundamental principles of the Church defined by the Church founders:²⁰ the Ukrainian character of the Church, adherence to the Orthodox Christian faith and dogma, conciliar governance, and autocephaly of the UOCC. I explain the meaning of these four principles of the UOCC and their influence on the Church's development.

To focus specifically on the first goal of my study, I address in the second chapter the transformations of the above mentioned fundamental principles of the Church, situating my enquiry in the historical context between 1990 and 2013. I consider the late 1980s and beginning of the 1990s to be a turning point in the history of the UOCC. In 1988, the Church celebrated a Millennium of the Ukrainian Christianity. Preparation for this anniversary prompted discussions within the UOCC regarding the historical meaning of Christianity for Ukrainians as well as the future of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Canada. These discussions helped to detect existing

18 "Annual Meeting of the Central Eparchy," Parish Monthly Bulletin, Ukrainian Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, January 2014.

19 "Annual Meeting of the Central Eparchy."

20 In this research, I use the term 'Church founders' to describe the group of lay people who participated in the first councils of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada and eventually became the formal leaders of the newly created Church.

problems in the UOCC and triggered some changes in the Church. In 1990, the UOCC acquired a new status within the world of Eastern Orthodoxy by establishing administrative ties with the Ecumenical Patriarchate.²¹ The proclamation of the independence of Ukraine in 1991 also uncovered a new type of relationships between Ukrainians in Canada and their old country – Ukraine. I start with a discussion how subordination of the UOCC to the Ecumenical Patriarchate influenced the structure and governance of the UOCC. Then, I explore the intensification of the transnational religious connections with Ukraine and the influence of the arrival of recent immigrants from Ukraine on the UOCC development. In addition, I point out the efforts oriented towards the integration of non-Ukrainians in the UOCC.

To understand how the changing institutional identity affected the Church grassroots life, in the third chapter, I explore the impact of the changing institutional identity of the UOCC on the lives of the followers by examining life experiences of the parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon. I discern how transformations in the Church policies and practices are understood and realized at the parish level. The chapter begins with a description of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon and religious practices at this parish. Then, I present the stories of the parish members with an emphasis on their preferred religious activities and their perception of what the Church means to them. Focusing on a specific parish allows one to better understand the dynamics and perhaps continuity and discontinuity between the two important planes of the Orthodox Church life. I present the choices of several groups of parishioners who discuss the meaning and the importance of Orthodoxy to them, focusing on individual experiences and highlighting the unique complexity of contemporary Eastern Orthodoxy in Canada.

In conclusion, I revisit the main thesis of my research and offer my own perspectives on what the interplay between institutional changes and personal practices mean to UOCC followers and overall to the existing debate on religion and ethnicity in Canada.

21 'Ecumenical Patriarchate' is one of the names of the autocephalous Eastern Orthodox Church with the centre in Constantinople (now – Istanbul). Other names of this Church are: 'Patriarchate of Constantinople' and 'Church of Constantinople.' The word 'Ecumenical' in this thesis is used in reference to a specific Church and should not be confused with the movement of ecumenism.

1.5. Methodological Considerations

Notable religious studies scholar Jonathan Z. Smith states that students of religion tend to consider the extraordinary, excitable, and exotic aspects of religion, rather than the ordinary categories of experience.²² To avoid this problem, I do not analyze Eastern Orthodox doctrine or theology, or delve into questions whether beliefs of parishioners correspond with the Eastern Orthodox teachings. Instead, I adapt a strategy in which I, as a religious historian, would “study the passion and drama of man discovering the truth of what it is to be human.”²³ According to Smith, “religion, in the academic sense, is a study of the various ways to map, construct, and inhabit such positions of power through the use of myths, rituals, and experiences of transformation.”²⁴ This mapping strategy creates a world in which people are able to gain significance and value. Hence, I am concerned with this question: how does religion function as a vital force in the lives of its adherents?

Clifford Geertz defined religion as “a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.”²⁵ Recognizing the special role of religion in orienting people in the world, a scholar should look at what practitioners do, interpret their actions, and systemize them. So, my research contributes to understanding how religion shapes identities of the people. To do that, I focus this study not only on institutional dimensions of the Church, but also on the life and work of a specific parish – the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon. However, according to Geertz’s approach, my observations would be seen as second order and third order interpretations. Only a ‘native’ makes first order observations.²⁶ Therefore, it is necessary not only to observe religious activities, but also to give opportunities to practitioners, the ‘natives,’ to express their own understanding of the meaning of religious activities in their lives. To achieve this goal, I also conducted a series of interviews with the parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon.

22 Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), p. 308.

23 Smith, *Map Is Not Territory*, p. 290-91.

24 Smith, *Map Is Not Territory*, p. 291.

25 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), p. 90.

26 Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 15.

Contemporary scholars of religious studies in Canada have emphasized the need to study small religious communities to better understand the processes on the national level. For instance, Jamie Scott the editor of a collection of essays *The Religions of Canadians* published in 2012, together with other contributors, acknowledged the lack of attention to Eastern Orthodoxy in Canadian scholarship in general. He explained this lacuna as an absence of scholarly research on small religious communities.²⁷ Research on concrete religious communities is especially instrumental in studies of ethnic minority religions because a deep understanding of their development is not possible without references to the living experiences of the people.

I chose the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon as a location for my study for several reasons. First, because I resided in Saskatoon during my studies at the university, the choice of a religious community in Saskatoon as a case study guaranteed me a chance to visit this parish regularly during a long span of time and observe the life of this community. Second, I was interested in conducting research at one of the oldest UOCC parishes as I wanted to see the changing dynamics of Church life from the earliest days of the UOCC until modern times. The Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish fits this requirement very well, because the Ukrainian Orthodox community in Saskatoon was one of the first ones to support the UOCC, which was created in 1918 at a convention in Saskatoon. Third, this Cathedral in Saskatoon is one of the major centres of the UOCC and events in this parish have had influence on the tendencies of the UOCC development. Finally, the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon is a vibrant community that includes people of different ages, occupations, and social status. This parish consists of Canadian-born people of Ukrainian descent, Ukrainians who immigrated to Canada after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, and people of other ethnic backgrounds. In this regard, the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish might not be seen as an average UOCC parish. Therefore, I am aware that the experiences and views of the people from this parish might not match the views and experiences of parishioners in some other UOCC parishes. However, I deliberately chose to study this particular community, because this parish is a personification of the changes and new tendencies of the UOCC development.

27 Jamie Scott, *Religions of Canadians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), p. 388.

1.6. Interviewing as a Research Tool

In my research work, I have employed approaches from several disciplines, namely religious studies, history, oral history, and ethnography. I used this multidisciplinary approach because incorporation of various methods was needed to pursue my thesis goals in the most efficient way. For instance, I relied on the oral history methodology for my interviewing process. The primary goal for my interviews was to get the subjective stories of parishioners not only about their roles in the Church but also their lived experiences in the Church. As historian Valerie Yow states, oral history testimony is the kind of information that makes other public documents understandable.²⁸ In this thesis, the public documents issued by the UOCC provided general information about the changes in the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition in Canada. But with the help of the interviews, I was able to find out what these changes meant to parishioners. To pursue this task, I used open-ended, semi-structured oral interviews. A semi-structured interview is open-ended, but follows a general script and covers a list of topics.²⁹ I developed an interview guide to use in the interviews. The semi-structured interviews, however, made the conversations relevant to the subject of my study, yet allowed maximum flexibility for parishioners to touch on the topics that they considered more important.

I used semi-structured interviews so that I could step back from my own assumptions and learn from my interviewees about the things that concerned them the most. In doing so, I drew on the experience of historian Alexander Von Plato who proposed to give interviewees an opportunity to present their stories and their experiences any way they wished, taking as much time as they wished.³⁰ For this reason I started each of my interviews with a simple question: “Could you tell me a little be about yourself?” This broad question gave my interviewees the opportunity to articulate their identities in the ways they preferred. Then, I applied questions from my interview guide. However, I did not follow a strict sequence of questions because I wanted the interview to resemble a real conversation. For this reason, I tried to be most receptive to the way the interviewees told their stories. I also asked some follow-up questions to help interviewees develop their thoughts on the issues that concerned them.

28 Valerie Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2005), p. 11.

29 Bernard Russel, *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 4th ed. (Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2006) p. 212. See the interview guide used in this study in the appendix B.

30 Alexander von Plato, “Interview Guidelines,” *Oral History Forum* 29 (2009), p. 2.

Interviews with the bearers of the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition were instrumental to understand the personal motifs of the project participants in attending religious services. Considering the potentially large range of informants within the parish, I was seeking to get as many different perspectives as possible. The main criterion for the inclusion of parishioners into this research was their church attendance. I did not indicate in advance the exact number of interviewees. Instead of that, I collected interviews that would provide information of different quality. In the case of this research, I was attempting to invite participants who would represent as many clusters (subgroups) within this community as possible and, therefore, represent different perspectives on Church life. I used the following identifiers: gender, age, ethnic background, occupation, position in the parish.

I used the snowball method to recruit interviewees. I identified some active parishioners who have been involved in the management of the parish as the key informants. I determined that it was important to start the interviewing process with either acting or former parish council members. Due to their roles in the parish, they recommended prospective interviewees and assisted in establishing the initial contact. The parish administrator Mr. Stanyslaw Hawryliw and his wife Mrs. Pat Hawryliw were especially helpful in this. Not only did Mrs. Pat Hawryliw help me to identify prospective interviewees, she also introduced me to a few of them. I found this procedure, when I, an outsider to the parish, was introduced by respected older parishioners to prospective informants, very beneficial. It helped me to establish trusting relationships with my prospective informants, who felt at ease with me after this introduction.

In total, I interviewed 21 members of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon (most interviews were one-on-one interviews, only one interview was conducted with two people simultaneously) and the parish priest Very Reverend Taras Makowsky. The interviews were conducted with 12 female and 11 male parishioners of different ages – from 23 to 70 years old (see figure 1 for information on the number of interviewees in different age ranges).

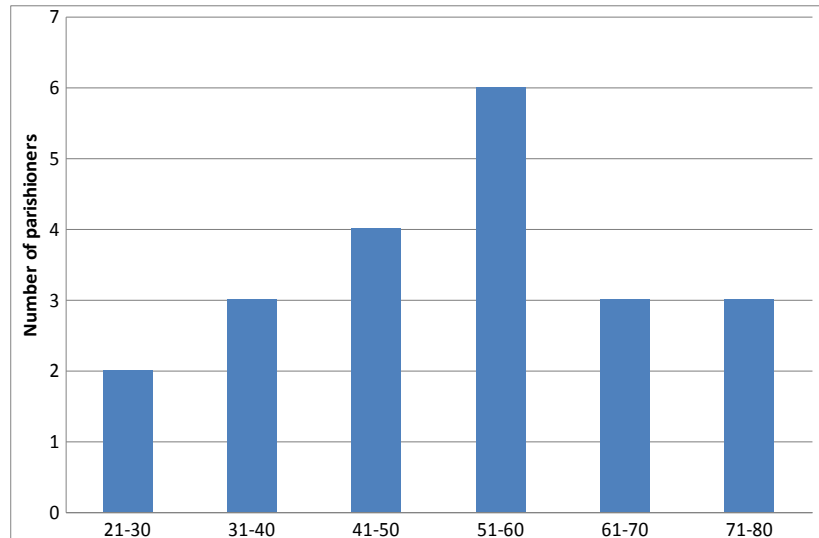


Figure 1: Interviewees according to different age ranges

While recruiting informants, I pursued the goal to interview Canadian-born parishioners of different generations, as well as immigrants who arrived to Canada as adults. Consequently, I interviewed twelve Canadian-born parishioners and nine immigrant parishioners, including five recent immigrants from Ukraine, two immigrants from Eritrea, and one immigrant from Romania (see figure 2: Interviewees by the place of birth). Interviews with most parishioners, with the exclusion of recent immigrants from Ukraine, were conducted in English. I conducted interviews with recent immigrants from Ukraine in the Ukrainian language and later translated the citations into English.

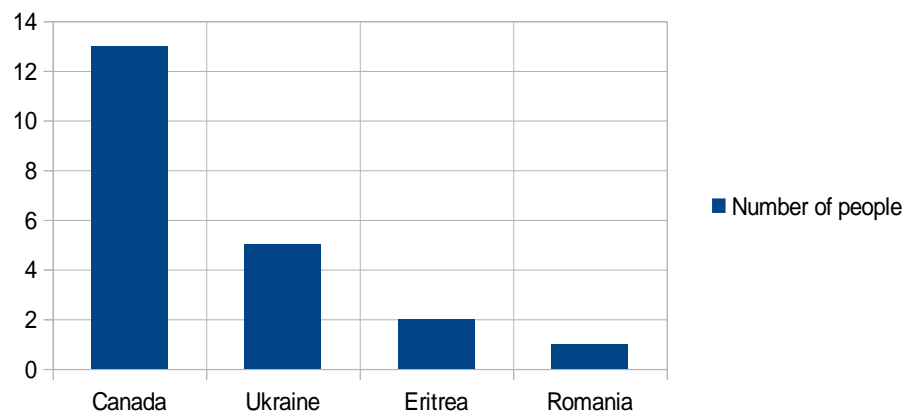


Figure 2: Interviewees by the place of birth

Whereas I selected research participants from a small group of people (the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon), all of whom are known to each other, it is possible that they could be identifiable to other people on the basis of what was said. Because participation in this research was not anonymous; some participants had the option of choosing pseudonyms to keep their identity confidential from the general public. However, most of the interviewees did not mind my using their real names; only three out of the twenty-two research participants chose to use pseudonyms.

1.7. Historiography

As mentioned earlier, the Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Canada in its contemporary manifestations has been little studied. The history of the establishment of the Church and its formative years, though, has received considerable research. For instance, the Ukrainian Orthodox historians Iurii Mulyk-Lutsyk and Semen Sawchuk, in their four volumes of the history of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada, have provided a detailed description of the events that led to the establishment of the Church and discussed the conflicts within the Church that were prompted by different opinions of how to organize the Church governance.³¹ In addition, a few monographs are dedicated solely to the history of the UOCC. Paul Yuzyk's book *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada: 1919–1951*,³² published in 1981, and Odarka Trosky's *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada*,³³ published in 1968, are revised versions of both scholars' doctoral dissertations. These two monographs are concerned with the origins of the Church and the problems that the Church encountered in its formative years. Although these two monographs contain extensive factual information about the UOCC, their information is outdated. Publications of Roman Yereniuk represent the most current research on the history of the UOCC from the time of its inception until present time.³⁴ Whereas Yereniuk

31 Iurii Mulyk-Lutsyk and Semen Sawchuk, *Istoriia Ukrain's'koï Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi*, 4 vols. (Winnipeg: Vydavnycha Spilka "Ecclesia," 1985–1989).

32 Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada: 1919–1951* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981).

33 Odarka Trosky, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada* (Winnipeg: Bulman Bros., 1968).

34 Roman Yereniuk, *A Short Historical Outline of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada (UOCC)* (Winnipeg: Ecclesia Publishing Corp., 2008); Roman Yereniuk, *The Ukrainian Orthodox Church: selected historical topics of the XVII–XVIII centuries and the Ukrainian Canadian Diaspora* (Lviv: Litopys, 2010); Roman Yereniuk and Stella Hryniuk, "Building the New Jerusalem on the Prairies: The Ukrainian Experience," in *Visions of the New Jerusalem: Religious Settlement on the Prairies*, ed. Ben Smilley (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1983), p. 137–53; Roman Yereniuk, "Church Jurisdictions and Jurisdictional Changes among Ukrainians in Canada, 1981–1925,"

gives a general overview of the major events in the recent history of the UOCC, my research is focused specifically on the question how various events resulted into the UOCC institutional identity change and consequently how they influenced the lives of the UOCC members.

1.8. On Self-Positioning

My interest in studying the UOCC has its roots in my identity as a Ukrainian Orthodox Christian and my experiences as a religious studies student. Born in the western part of Ukraine, I grew up in a Ukrainian-speaking and almost completely homogeneous Ukrainian ethnic environment. My childhood coincided with the period of massive religious revival in independent Ukraine, freed from the anti-religious confinement and propaganda of the Soviet Union government. So, I was raised as a devout Orthodox Christian attending church regularly. At that point, I knew very little about other religions. I started learning about religious diversity in Ukraine and in the world when I joined the Religious Studies program at one of the leading Ukrainian universities: the National University of Ostroh Academy in Rivne Oblast. Because Eastern Orthodoxy has been one of the founding religions of Ukraine since the 9th century, it has also been the main focus in the Religious Studies program curriculum. As a student in the Religious Studies program, I learnt about the necessity to separate personal beliefs from scholarship on religion, an especially crucial stance because three Orthodox Churches in Ukraine conflict with each other. Therefore, in university essays, classes, or conference discussions, I have had to neutrally assess these conflicts without bias for any one Church.

When I had to choose the topics for my course works and thesis, I decided to study the history of Eastern Orthodoxy in the North America in the 20th century. Because North America is a new territory for Eastern Orthodoxy in historic terms, it was interesting for me to study how Eastern Orthodoxy has spread into this continent. In particular, I learnt that Eastern Orthodoxy was introduced to North America as a mosaic of ethnic Churches founded by the immigrants from traditionally Orthodox countries. These Churches became cultural centres to help maintain language, customs, and traditions of the ethnic minorities. Some Eastern Orthodox Churches in North America retained strong spiritual and administrative ties with the churches of their homelands. Writing my thesis at the university in Ukraine, I encountered a problem because of a

in D. Goa, ed. *The Ukrainian Religious Experience: tradition and the Canadian cultural context* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989), p. 109–128.

lack of sources for the research. I referred to articles and monographs by Ukrainian and international historians and religious studies scholars, but their number was limited. Therefore, I also had to consult a number of historical accounts that representatives of different ethnic Churches in North America had written. Although these studies provided me with valuable factual information, they also offered one-sided, partisan views on the churches they represented. Therefore, I became convinced that my research was missing an important link because of the lack of primary sources. With this in mind, I decided to pursue my studies in North America, where I could get involved with the Eastern Orthodox communities directly. Ukrainians were among the first Eastern Orthodox Christian settlers in North America. Thus, I applied to the University of Saskatchewan with a plan to research how the Ukrainian Orthodoxy has been practised in Canada.

I am aware that my religious identification may be seen as a bias factor to affect my status as an academic. Recognizing this, I have attempted to elevate myself beyond my identity as an Orthodox practitioner. I aspired to be guided in my research not by my beliefs, but by the theories, methods, and scholarly principles of investigation as developed in the discipline of Religious Studies, and other disciplines of today's academia. I do not intend this research to be an apologetic work to favour the UOCC. My task, rather, was to interpret collected information about religion, following the requirements of secular religious studies.

Because I am Ukrainian and Orthodox, I may be considered as an insider to the Ukrainian Orthodox community in Canada. I see a few advantages in being an insider while pursuing this research, especially in my fieldwork at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon. First of all, my status of a Ukrainian Orthodox person was important when I started recruiting participants for my research. My close connection with the Ukrainian Orthodox community made it easier to establish first contacts with potential project participants.

Second, my knowledge of the Ukrainian language was crucial to incorporate into my research recent immigrants from Ukraine, who would not be able to express their views easily in English. Last, my familiarity and close connection to the Orthodox tradition was helpful to compare Eastern Orthodoxy in Canada and in Ukraine. At the same time, although an insider, my awareness of this status should be seen as an indication that I fully realized the necessity to suspend my own 'native' view while pursuing an academic study of a community whose faith I share.

CHAPTER TWO: THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH OF CANADA: HISTORY AND INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY

To contextualize my discussion, I provide in this chapter a brief overview of the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada (UOCC) and explore the distinct identity of the UOCC that is expressed in its adherence to Orthodox Christian doctrine, embrace of Ukrainian culture, conciliar governance of the Church, and independence of the UOCC from other centres in church governance.

2.1. Ukrainians in Canada and the Creation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada

1891 was a year of the first documented arrival of Ukrainians to Canada which marked the start to the first wave of Ukrainian migration in 1891–1914. Villagers from two Western Ukrainian regions of Galicia and Bukovyna, which at that time belonged to Austro-Hungarian Empire, responded to an opportunity to receive land for farming in Canadian Prairies. Over 120,000 Ukrainians came to Canada in the period of 1891–1914.³⁵ Most of them settled on the free lands to start farming on the Canadian prairies. Only a small number of Ukrainians stayed in urban areas. Because at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, churches were truly the centres of social life for the villagers in Western Ukraine, those immigrants to Canada desired to replicate the religious and social life known to them from the homeland. After settlers became more firmly established in the new country, they began building churches as points of religious and social gatherings. The first Ukrainian church in Canada – St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church – was built in 1899 near Gardenton, Manitoba.³⁶

Most immigrants from Galicia were Ukrainian Catholics who belonged to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, a Byzantine-rite self-governing particular Church in full communion with the Pope. Because the proportion of Galicians in Canada was higher in comparison to the number of immigrants from other Ukrainian regions, Ukrainian Greek Catholicism was

35 Wsevolod Isajiw and Andrij Makuch, "Ukrainians in Canada," in *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World: A Demographic and Sociological Guide to the Homeland and its Diaspora*, Ann Lencyk Pawliczko, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 333.

36 John Panchuk, *Persha Ukraïns'ka Tserkva v Kanadi: Istorychnyi Narys* (Winnipeg: Panchuk, 1974).

predominant among the Ukrainians in Canada.³⁷ At first, the Ukrainian Catholics³⁸ did not have their own diocese in Canada; they were under the jurisdiction of the local Roman Catholic bishops. Differences between Roman and Byzantine rites caused misunderstandings between the Canadian Roman Catholic hierarchy and Ukrainian immigrants. For instance, priests in Byzantine rite, unlike in Latin rite, may be married. However, Roman Catholic bishops in Canada opposed against married priests. Even appointment in 1912 of a Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Nykyta Budka for Ukrainians in Canada did not resolve all problems. The Ukrainian intelligentsia with strong national sentiment appealed to Bishop Nykyta Budka with demands to assign only Ukrainian priests to Ukrainian parishes, to revoke the decree banning married priests to come to North America, and to guarantee that Ukrainian Greek Catholic rite would not be modified in any way.³⁹

Those who came from the region of Bukovyna, on the other hand, were predominantly Orthodox. Similar to the Ukrainian Catholics, Ukrainian Orthodox Bukovynians wanted to maintain their religion in Canada. These Bukovynians for a long time represented the Ukrainian Orthodox population in Canada. Because the only Orthodox hierarch in North America at the beginning of the 20th century was a Russian Orthodox bishop, the majority of the Orthodox population (including Ukrainian Orthodox Bukovynians), regardless of their ethnicity, fell under his jurisdiction.⁴⁰ The Russian diocese in North America had been established at the end of the 18th century prior to the arrival of masses of Orthodox migrants. Eventually, Orthodox Bukovynians became dissatisfied with Russian bishops and priests. These Ukrainian Orthodox people looked for Ukrainian priests who would also be the leaders of the Ukrainian cultural life; however, Russian Orthodox bishops were not able or willing to respond to these requests. After the Bolshevyk revolution in Russia in 1917, the Russian diocese in North America lost financial support from the Russian government, breaking the connection between the North American Orthodoxy and Russia. In these circumstances, some Orthodox Bukovynian priests, supported by laity, started to think of a new jurisdiction to consider the wishes of the Ukrainian settlers.

37 In 1911, only about 25,000 were Ukrainian Orthodox Bukovynians of about 120,000 Ukrainians in Canada. See Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891–1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991), p. 169.

38 ‘Ukrainian Catholics’ is a name that is usually used in reference to Ukrainian Catholics of Byzantine rite in Canada. The name of the Church that unites Ukrainian Catholics of Byzantine rite in Canada is the ‘Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada’ rather than ‘Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Canada.’

39 Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada*, p. 63.

40 Yereniuk, *A Short Historical Outline of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada*, p. 8.

Most Ukrainians in Canada in the first two decades of the 20th century were farmers. Many did not speak English, subsequently cutting them off in many regards from the broader Canadian society. Integration of immigrant communities into a host society is often a painful process because the host society may perceive these immigrants with some level of distrust. Because many Ukrainian settlers in Canada felt that their interests were ignored, they turned to their religious and ethnic identities as sources for empowerment. However, both the Ukrainian Catholic diocese in Canada and Russian Orthodox diocese in North America did not serve to increase self-reliance and self-esteem in the ways many Ukrainians had hoped. Therefore, Ukrainian settlers in the Canadian prairies looked for a way to form another religious organization that would be a powerful agent of their religious and ethnic identities.

A group of politically oriented Ukrainian activists, *narodovtsi*, played a pivotal role in the expansion of the campaign to form a new Ukrainian national Church in Canada. *Narodovtsi* a group of Ukrainian activists advocated for self-reliance of Ukrainians in Canada and argued that Ukrainians in Canada would succeed only through education as well as development of the Ukrainian culture in Canada.⁴¹ Criticizing the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Nykyta Budka and the Catholic clergy in Canada for not being proactive in the matters of cultural work and the promotion of national self-consciousness among Ukrainian settlers in Canada, *narodovtsi* initiated a process to form a new Church in Canada.

In July 1918, a group of lay Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox Christians from the Prairie Provinces gathered in Saskatoon for a confidential meeting at which they decided to form the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada.⁴² They decided that the new Church should accept the Orthodox faith and dogma and should declare communion with other Eastern Orthodox Churches. Moreover, the Church should have married priests; Church congregations should have the right to accept and discharge priests; and the Church's congregation should have ownership of the congregations' property.⁴³ Leaders of the new Church interpreted the decision to create an Orthodox Church as a return to the origins, just as Prince Volodymyr converted

41 Roman Yereniuk, "Church Jurisdictions and Jurisdictional Changes among Ukrainians in Canada, 1981–1925," in *The Ukrainian Religious Experience: tradition and the Canadian cultural context*, ed. David Goa (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989), p. 118.

42 The name of the Church 'Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada' was used until 1990. The alternative name 'Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada' was also used before 1990. Since 1990, 'the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada' has been used as the only official name for the Church.

43 Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada*, p. 86.

Kyivan Rus' in the 9th century to Orthodoxy. The creation of an independent UOCC was also understood as an opportunity to have a Church that would serve specific needs of Ukrainians in Canada, especially in such matters as the preservation of the Ukrainian language and customs. Consequently, service to the cultural needs of the Ukrainian community became a priority for this Church.

Nationalistic sentiments and the exceptional role of the politically active *narodovtsi* have led some scholars to think of the creation of the UOCC as a political action primarily.⁴⁴ Orest Martynowych suggests that nationalism led to the formation of the Church and that the Church founders valued the UOCC primarily as agency of Ukrainian nationhood, not as a medium for salvation.⁴⁵ Although it is important to acknowledge the role of the Ukrainian nationalistic movement in Canada in the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada, it is also crucial to look at the creation of this new Church as specifically Canadian and a Canadian Prairies phenomenon. I agree with Myroslav Tataryn's argument that the formation of the UOCC was a response to an emergent need to re-negotiate religious tradition in agreement with the culture and sociopolitical situation in the Canadian prairies.⁴⁶ He linked the establishment of UOCC with the lack of priests on the prairies, struggle of Ukrainians with a totally foreign Catholic normativity, in Western Canada, a need to have a Church that would be effective in facilitating the survival of Ukrainian community as an identifiable ethno-religious group in Canada, and the need for religious tradition to be a force that could help sustain community's identity.⁴⁷

2.2. Fourfold Identity

The UOCC adopted four major guiding principles of its policy, based on the wishes of the Church's founders. A long-serving administrator of the UOCC, priest Simon Sawchuk in his speech on the 50th Anniversary of the Church in 1968 restated these four main principles of the

44 For instance, see Oleh Gerus, "Consolidating the Community: The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League," in *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating Identity*, ed. L. Luciuk and S. Hryniuk (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 162.

45 Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, p. 410.

46 Myroslav Tataryn, "Creating a Canadian Religious Tradition: Conceiving the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada," *Toronto Journal of Theology* vol. 20 no.1 (2004), p. 17.

47 Tataryn, "Creating a Canadian Religious Tradition," p. 7-18.

UOCC.⁴⁸ The first declared principle is the Ukrainian character of the Church, the second principle is an acceptance of the faith and dogmas of Eastern Orthodoxy, the third principle is the conciliar governance of the Church (Ukrainian word used by the UOCC is ‘*sobornopravnyi*’ – ‘governed by council’), and the fourth principle is an autocephaly of the Church. These four principles have continued to serve as guidelines for the formation of the Church policy reflecting the hopes and aspirations of its members.

2.2.1. The Church of Ukrainians and for Ukrainians

In various explanations of what the UOCC stands for, the Ukrainian nature of this Church has always been listed as its first defining feature. The Ukrainian intelligentsia in Canada has nurtured the idea of the formation of a Ukrainian national Church since the beginning of the 20th century. They were looking for a Church that would have a Ukrainian hierarchy and clergy to take care of both the spiritual life of Ukrainians in Canada as well as Ukrainian cultural life. The UOCC was chosen to replicate the image of this Ukrainian national Church, as understood by the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

From its very beginning, the Church leaders faced challenges in their attempts to develop Church structure. Because any Eastern Orthodox Church could not exist without a bishop, finding a bishop was one of the priorities. It was a difficult task because the Church founders expressed explicitly that they were looking for a Ukrainian bishop. Because there were no Ukrainian bishops or suitable candidates for the bishop’s position, the Archbishop of the Antiochian Patriarchate, Germanos Shehadi, was asked to serve temporarily as a spiritual leader of the UOCC. Ukrainian Orthodox Christians in Canada, however, still searched for a Ukrainian bishop until 1924, when they recognized Archbishop John Theodorovich as their formal leader.⁴⁹ The legitimacy of the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church, to which Archbishop John Theodorovich belonged, has been a matter of dispute amongst other Eastern Orthodox Churches. Despite questions regarding his status, the Church in Canada accepted Archbishop John Theodorovich as their spiritual leader.

Having its own bishop meant that the UOCC could recruit new Ukrainian priests as required. These priests felt heavy pressure because of parishioners’ expectation that a priest

48 *Collection of Material Relating to the 50th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada: 1918–1968* (Winnipeg: Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1968), p. 34–5.

49 Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada*, p. 121.

should not limit his service to the celebration of liturgies. Priests were also expected to become educators and cultural teachers. Under the patronage of different parishes Sunday or Saturday schools were created. The curriculum of these schools, in addition to the religious studies classes, included Ukrainian language and Ukrainian culture. In many cases, parishes built church halls to serve as places for social gatherings and Ukrainian cultural concerts. The UOCC also replaced Old Church Slavonic liturgical language with the Ukrainian language. Because the UOCC's policy appealed to many Ukrainian settlers, a significant number of Ukrainian Catholic parishes and parishes of the Russian Orthodox Mission converted to the new Church.⁵⁰

The UOCC membership constantly grew and reached 111,000 people by 1951.⁵¹ Eventually, Ukrainian Orthodoxy became one of the main religions for Ukrainian Canadians (with 116,700 Church members by 1971).⁵² Notably, this number includes not only immigrants of the first wave of the immigration and their descendants, but also representatives of the second and third waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. The second wave of migration in the interwar years of 1914–1941 consisted of about 68,000 migrants from Western Ukraine, who immigrated to Canada for economic reasons.⁵³ The third wave of Ukrainian migration in 1947–1954 consisted mainly of 34,000 displaced persons and war refugees.⁵⁴ There were many Ukrainian nationalists amongst the displaced persons. They contributed to the further development of a group of Ukrainian nationalists within the UOCC, who valued the Church not only for its spiritual role, but perhaps even more so for its role as a cultural institution.

The Ukrainian Orthodox tradition in Canada changed when it was passed from one generation to the next. This change was due to the fact that new generations of Ukrainians had grown up in Canada, maintaining mostly a symbolic connection with Ukraine, recognizing Canada not as a host country, but as their homeland. By the end of the 1980s, the majority of the Church members were Canadian-born, and represented the second, third, and fourth generations

50 Roman Yereniuk, "Church Jurisdictions and Jurisdictional Change," p. 122.

51 Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada*, p. 201.

52 Roman Yereniuk and Stella Hryniuk, "Building the New Jerusalem on the Prairies: The Ukrainian Experience," in *The Ukrainian Orthodox Church* (Lviv: Litopys, 2010), p. 232.

53 Frances Swyripa, "Migration", accessed May 24, 2013, <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/Encyclopedia/A-Z/u1/2>.

54 Swyripa, "Migration", <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/Encyclopedia/A-Z/u1/2>.

of Ukrainian Canadians. Only a small percentage of them were able to speak the Ukrainian language fluently, and even a smaller number used Ukrainian as their home language.⁵⁵

2.2.2. Orthodox Dogma and Faith of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada

The second principle of the UOCC is that the Church follows all the teachings of Eastern Orthodoxy. The teachings of Eastern Orthodoxy are based on the Scriptures (the Bible) and Sacred Tradition (interpretations of the Scriptures and other works of the Holy Fathers). Orthodox Christians believe that Jesus Christ founded their Church and carried over by Apostles. The evolution of the Orthodox doctrine had continued from its beginnings and ended in the 9th century. Many of the norms were developed and approved at the seven Ecumenical Councils. Some of the norms are believed to be created by the Apostles and Holy Fathers.⁵⁶ These rules are usually called ‘canons.’⁵⁷ Therefore, the derivative term ‘canonical’ has been used to define something that is conducted according to the apostolic rules, rules of the Holy Fathers and decisions of the Ecumenical Councils.

A large percentage of Orthodox canons are concerned with regulation of the Church organization. The Church is given a special role and is seen as an essential tool to the ultimate goal of Orthodox Christians: salvation. For this reason the creation of a legitimate Church organization was one of the priorities of the founders of the UOCC. Initiators of the Church formation were concerned with the necessity to have not just a completely new religious organization, but rather a Church that would fit into the existing body of the Eastern Orthodox Churches. Therefore, there was an urgent task to establish its own episcopate because normal functioning of the Orthodox Church is not possible without a bishop.

2.2.3. Conciliar Governance of the Church

The third principle of the UOCC is its conciliar governance (in Ukrainian – *sobornopravnyi*). It means that participation in decision-making processes should not be restricted to bishops, but priests and laity must also have the right to raise their voices in various

55 In 1981, only 28.1 per cent of the Ukrainian Orthodox Christians in Canada knew Ukrainian language. See Oleh Wolowyna, “Linguistic-Cultural Assimilation and Changes in Religious Denominations of Ukrainian Canadians,” *The Ukrainian Religious Experience: Traditional and the Canadian Cultural Context*, ed. David Goa (Edmonton: CIUS, 1989), p. 179.

56 ‘Holy Fathers’ are respected theologians of the early Christian Church.

57 The Greek word *κανών* may be translated as ‘rule.’

Church matters. This system of governance was developed under the influence of strong anticlerical sentiments that were nurtured within the Ukrainian community in Canada. The founders of the new Church did everything possible to create a governing structure that would not allow bishops to usurp power. Also, the UOCC was established in circumstances when Ukrainian community leaders in Canada promoted the idea of self-reliance of Ukrainians and ensuring Ukrainian settlers could act independently making their own choices in all spheres of public life. These ideas of human agency were inspired by the ideals of Canadian democracy and freedom. This is why the founders of the UOCC criticized the excessive authority of priests and insisted that property of each congregation should belong to its members and that appointment or dismissal of priests should be with the consent of the congregation, and bishops of the Church should be elected by priests and lay delegates from all congregations.⁵⁸

The governing system of the UOCC is unique within Eastern Orthodoxy. In Eastern Orthodoxy, bishops have usually resolved issues of church governance because they are believed to be the successors the Apostles. So, bishops have authority over matters of faith, doctrine, and matters of everyday administration. Historically, priests and laity in Eastern Orthodoxy have had some level of influence in the process of decision-making. However, immediate participation in the everyday governance of the Church has always been the privilege of bishops. The UOCC is different in that regard from other Orthodox Churches, because clergy of different ranks and laity have much more power to govern at all levels.

The highest authority in the UOCC belongs to the General Council.⁵⁹ According to the UOCC by-laws amended in 2010, the General Council has the supreme power in all temporal matters and constitutes highest legislative and administrative authority.⁶⁰ Resolutions of the Church Councils may be seen as a tool to declare positions regarding various matters in the church life and to express its self-understanding. The General Council consists of all ruling bishops, parish priests, and lay parish representatives. However, unlike in other Orthodox churches, where bishops have the main role, in the UOCC all delegates regardless whether they are clergy or laity have equal rights. To ensure participation of laity in Church governance, lay people are elected to the Consistory Board that governs the church in the periods between

58 Yereniuk, *A Short Historical Outline of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada*, p. 14.

59 'General Council' (in Ukrainian – *Sobor*) is a council of bishops, priests, and laity that has the highest authority in the UOCC.

60 "Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada: Revised By-Laws," accessed May 1, 2012, <http://www.uocc.ca/pdf/documents/UOCC%20Bylaws.Amended.July%2015.2010.pdf>

General Councils. In fact, one third of the Consistory Board is lay members. A special role of the General Councils that are composed of a large number of laity gives lay people a unique opportunity to decide how the Church should develop. Also, the role of priests and bishops has changed from being unquestioned leaders to the role of experts whose opinions and suggestions are valued and taken into consideration, but not necessarily automatically approved by the majority. Conciliar governance in the understanding of laity is a means of direct influence on decisions within the Church. Decisions made by bishops without approval or in contrast to the ideas expressed at General Councils would be judged as contraposition to the idea of conciliar governance.

2.2.4. Autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada

The fourth principle – autocephaly of the UOCC – literally meant that that the UOCC was established as a self-governing Church. ‘Autocephaly,’ a word of Greek origin, means ‘self-governance.’ The principle of autocephaly is a cornerstone of the Orthodox Christian Church structure. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church that is united around the figure of the Pope and essentially the diocese of Rome, the Eastern Orthodox Church has a different system in which patriarchs and metropolitans who oversee different countries do not obey one religious leader. At the present, Eastern Orthodoxy is represented by the fourteen mutually recognized autocephalous Churches which are independent from each other and share a spiritual unity. A symbol of their unity and universal character of the Eastern Orthodox Church is an ability of the bishops from one Church to share the Eucharistic Communion with bishops from other autocephalous Eastern Orthodox Churches.

Because founders of the UOCC did not want to be subordinated to any other Orthodox Church, they declared autocephaly (self-governance) of the Church, claiming spiritual unity with other Orthodox Churches. The Church may be self-governed when it has a few of its own bishops who would be able to consecrate new bishops. Following this plan, the General Council of the UOCC on August 8–9, 1951, decided to form three dioceses and elected two bishops to lead these dioceses: Bishop Michael Khoroshy and Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko.⁶¹ Both bishops were consecrated in Ukraine during the Second World War, and later immigrated to Canada. Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko also became the first Metropolitan of the UOCC.

⁶¹ Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada*, p. 198-99.

Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko played a crucial role in gradual re-shaping of the Church's identity. Although the UOCC was a very important organizer of Ukrainian social and cultural life, Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko tried to install also such Church identity to be in accord with both the canons of the Eastern Orthodox Church and Ukrainian Orthodox tradition. Amongst other things, he encouraged clergy to deal with all issues based on the canons of the Orthodox Church and Orthodox tradition, rather than political reasoning.⁶² Despite the fact that the UOCC accepted the teachings and canons of Eastern Orthodoxy, the status of this Church in the world of Eastern Orthodoxy remained uncertain. Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko looked for ways to clarify the position and role of the UOCC within Eastern Orthodoxy. Keeping that in mind, Metropolitan Ilarion Ohienko contacted the Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras with the purpose to normalize the status of the UOCC.⁶³ 'Normalization' of the status meant getting approval from the Patriarch of Constantinople as well as other Eastern Orthodox Churches that the UOCC is in the communion with other Churches and, therefore, is recognized by them as a legitimate Church.

The attempts of Metropolitan Ilarion were not successful because of the reluctance of the Patriarch of Constantinople to deal with this issue and because of the opposition from within the UOCC. A good example of opposition from within would be the stance of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL). The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, an influential secular organization, was founded with the intention to ensure the self-reliance of Ukrainians in Canada and to promote Ukrainian Canadian culture. Although independent from the Church, this organization chose enhancement of the future growth of the UOCC as one of its commitments. The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League actively opposed the idea of associating the UOCC with any foreign centres. Because the core principles of this organization were the principles of self-reliance and independence, members of the USRL did not support the idea of establishing the ties between the UOCC with any other Orthodox Church, fearing that the UOCC could lose its independence.⁶⁴ Autocephaly meant much more for the Church than the opportunity to be led by its own hierarchy. The principle of self-reliance and independence in the organization of the

62 Oleh Krawchenko, "The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," *Vira i Kultura/Faith and Culture* 14 (2004–2007), p. 82-91.

63 Stefan Iarmus', "Ukraïns'ka Pravoslavna Tserkva v 20 Stolitti i Sproby Zblyzhennia ŭi iz Vselens'koïu Patriarhiïu," in *The Ukrainian Experience in Canada: Reflections* (Winnipeg: UVAN, 1994), p. 206.

64 Gerus, "Consolidating the Community," p. 185.

Ukrainian community life was transferred into the Church sphere as well. So, any foreign external influence was seen as a potential threat to the Church and the interests of parishioners.

Ukrainian settlers in Canadian Prairies formed the UOCC as a result of their search for an institution to help them to adapt in Canadian society on one hand and maintain a distinctive ethnic identity on the other hand. The founders meant this newly created Church to be an institution to reflect the aspirations and ideals of Ukrainians in Canada. Therefore, the Church was created with the understanding that it would accept Eastern Orthodox doctrine, would be autocephalous (independent from any other Eastern Orthodox Churches), and would be governed under the strong control of laity. The role of this Church as a Ukrainian Church was constantly emphasized and it intended active involvement of the Church in the development of Ukrainian cultural life and Ukrainian education in Canada.

CHAPTER THREE: TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY OF THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH OF CANADA IN 1990–2013

In chapter two, I offered a short historical overview of the development of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada (UOCC) and the building of its institutional identity. In this chapter, I concentrate on the transformations of the institutional identity of the UOCC from 1990 to 2013. I begin with an analysis of how the Ecumenical Patriarchate influenced the structure and governance of the UOCC and the lives of the local Ukrainian Orthodox parishes in Canada. Over the period of the last twenty-five years, the dynamics within the UOCC also changed because of the proclamation of Ukraine's independence in 1991. First of all, it strengthened the UOCC's ties with Churches in Ukraine. Secondly, new Ukrainian immigrants started arriving in Canada. Hence, I analyze the intensification of the transnational religious connections with Ukraine and the influence of the arrival of recent immigrants from Ukraine on the UOCC's development.

3.1. Transformations of an Understanding of the Principles of Autocephaly and Conciliar Governance (1990–2013)

3.1.1. The Unity of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada with the Ecumenical Patriarchate

The maintenance of symbolic unity in Eastern Orthodoxy among autocephalous Eastern Orthodox Churches has always been a matter of prime importance. The manifestation and visible demonstration of such unity includes the actual physical sharing of Eucharistic Communion during Divine Liturgy among the bishops and priests of different self-governing, yet administratively unlinked Eastern Orthodox Churches. Because the UOCC at the time of its inception was not formally included in the family of the autocephalous Eastern Orthodox Churches, the hierarchy of the UOCC were determined to clarify the position of the Church within the world of Eastern Orthodoxy.

With the intention to resolve this issue, Metropolitan Wasyly Fedak, the Primate of the UOCC, travelled in 1987 to Israel, Syria, and Turkey to meet with the heads of the oldest Eastern Orthodox Patriarchates.⁶⁵ The purpose of those meetings was to discuss the options for the UOCC to receive a place in the list of the Eastern Orthodox Churches. Discussions that started in 1987 continued during the visit of Metropolitan Wasyly Fedak to Istanbul (former

⁶⁵ Īarmus', "Ukraïns'ka Pravoslavna Tserkva v 20 Stolitti," p. 207.

Constantinople) in March 1989.⁶⁶ Metropolitan Wasyly Fedak and other Church leaders had to convince not only the Patriarch of Constantinople of the necessity to grant new status for the UOCC, but also to find unanimous support within the UOCC itself.

After extensive discussions of this question at the two General Councils – the Extraordinary General Council in 1989 and the 18th General Council in 1990 – the 18th General Council of the UOCC made a decisive step. The members of this highest governing body of the Church ratified the decision of the Church's leadership to establish spiritual and administrative ties between the UOCC and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. In the official Church newspaper *Visnyk/Herald*, the 18th General Council was called the most important after the 1st General Council in 1918 at which the Church was founded.⁶⁷ Such a high evaluation of this event was due to the fact that the union with the Ecumenical Patriarchate clarified the status of the UOCC in relation to other Eastern Orthodox Churches in the world. The UOCC became recognized as the one that has a legitimate hierarchy, and therefore was entitled to be in unity with other Eastern Orthodox Churches.

In the Eastern Orthodoxy, the question of continuity and continuous succession of Orthodox bishops from the Apostles is very important. Therefore, for a Church that self-identifies as Eastern Orthodox, it is crucial not only to follow Orthodox dogmas and teachings, but also to prove legitimacy of its bishops. To reject all possible doubts of the status of the UOCC, as well as to establish the ties with the rest of Eastern Orthodoxy, Church leaders deemed necessary to receive recognition from other autocephalous Eastern Orthodox Churches.

The leadership of the UOCC understood that unity with the Ecumenical Patriarchate was a natural step in the evolution of the Church. I outline three reasons out of many that called forth the association with the Ecumenical Patriarchate. First, the special place of the Ecumenical Patriarch within the rankings of the Orthodox bishops in the world and his attempts to serve in this capacity as an arbiter in the inter-Orthodox relations;⁶⁸ second, the significant role of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the introduction of the Christianity to Ukraine; and third, the absence of the autocephalous Church in Ukraine to serve as a Mother Church to the UOCC.

66 *Īarmus'*, "Ukraïns'ka Pravoslavna Tserkva v 20 Stolitti," p. 207.

67 "Istorychnyi Sobor Ukraïns'koï Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi Vidbuvsia Uspishno," *Visnyk/Herald* (August 1990), p. 1, 4.

68 'Inter-Orthodox relations' – relations between Eastern Orthodox Churches.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate has had a special place in the world of Eastern Orthodoxy. The significance of this Church, and specifically its leader, the Ecumenical Patriarch, could be traced down to the 4th century. At that time, the city of Constantinople was a capital of the Byzantine Empire. Due to the political importance of Constantinople, the 3rd canon of the Second Ecumenical Council in Constantinople in 381 conferred upon the bishop of this city second rank after the Bishop of Rome. In Chalcedon, in 451 CE, the Fourth Ecumenical Council offered Constantinople equal ranking to Rome and special responsibilities throughout the rest of the world (28th canon of the 4th Ecumenical Council). Eventually, the Patriarch of Constantinople also acquired the title of the Ecumenical Patriarch. This title derived from the Greek word '*oikumene*,' which means 'the Universe,' was used as a synonymous name for Eastern Roman Empire. The role of the Patriarch of Constantinople within the Eastern Orthodox Church became even more influential after a split of the Roman Catholic Church with the Eastern Orthodox Church in 1054 CE. Following this division, the Patriarch of Constantinople acquired honorary status in the Eastern part of the Christian Church.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate also played an important and immediate role in introducing the Eastern Orthodox Christianity to the forefathers of Ukrainian people in the 10th century. The Ecumenical Patriarch sent bishops and priests to the territory that is now Ukraine and established Kyiv Metropolitanate. Christianity in its Byzantine form became the major religion of the Kyivan Rus'. The Patriarch of Constantinople was the formal leader of the Orthodox Christians in Ukraine until the 17th century. Only in 1686, the Church in Ukraine was transferred from a jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople to the Patriarchate of Moscow. This transfer led to constraints of the autonomy of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. Therefore, when in the 1920s the Ukrainian national movement escalated, the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church was created. However, the Soviet authorities in 1924 liquidated this Church, which had been created in 1921.

Unlike other ethnic Churches in North America, which maintained administrative and spiritual connections with their centres in Europe and Asia, the UOCC existed totally independently. Because the Church in Ukraine was under pressure from the Communist government, Ukrainians in Canada came up with the idea to choose one of the ancient Eastern Orthodox Patriarchates as a point of reference for the UOCC. Recognizing the fact that Eastern Orthodoxy was introduced to Ukraine by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the UOCC sought unity

with the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Therefore, the Church leaders saw association with the Ecumenical Patriarchate as a return to the origins of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy.

Although the General Council of the UOCC ratified the decision to associate with the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1990, members of the Church eventually called benefits of this unification into question.⁶⁹ A gap exists in the understanding of how the Church should function between clergy on one side and laity on the other side. The UOCC clergy's eagerness to change the status of the UOCC may be attributed to the fact that they were looking for a way to clarify their own status within the domain of Eastern Orthodoxy. Laity, on the other hand, were worried about potential misuse of power by the foreign religious leader: the Patriarch of Constantinople. Most of the parishioners were willing to submit to the authority of the Metropolitan of the UOCC, who being elected by the UOCC members at the General Council, is accountable to the Church members. Therefore, many of these church members saw the Patriarch of Constantinople as an unnecessary addition to the existing Church hierarchy. Thus, some people assessed the move to another jurisdiction as a betrayal of the principle of autocephaly, which the Church founders had initially declared as infeasible.

Taking into consideration the very firm stand of Church members regarding independence in Church matters from any external authorities, it was critical for the hierarchs of the UOCC to preserve the Church's distinct internal structure and organization. Therefore, *Articles of Agreement*, signed between the UOCC and the Ecumenical Patriarchate, stipulated that the UOCC must remain autonomous. Independence in Church governance is assured as a requirement to deal with all issues locally (in Canada) according to the UOCC Statute and By-Laws. The Metropolitan of the UOCC has to consult with the Patriarch of Constantinople only on important matters of canonical or dogmatic nature.⁶⁷

3.1.2. Changes in the Organization of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada – Is it still Autocephalous?

Despite preservation of the Church structure in general, some changes in the organization of the UOCC have been introduced. For instance, the Ecumenical Patriarch became recognized as a canonical leader of the UOCC. In his capacity of the leader of the Church, he is not

69 For instance, see "A Letter to the Editor Regarding "Enough is Enough: A Response to the St. Volodymyr's Bratstvo in Toronto" by Rev. Fr. Andrew Jarmus, Editor-in-Chief Ecclesia Publishing Corporation UOCC," *Visnyk/Herald* (August 2000), p. 27.

supposed to interfere with decision-making process within the UOCC. At the same time, the Ecumenical Patriarch received the right to have some level influence over the process of election of bishops in the UOCC.⁷⁰ The *Articles of Agreement* state that the Patriarch of Constantinople and Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate formally approve the election of all bishops of the UOCC.⁷¹ This stipulation became a stumbling block for many Church members, who believed that this norm was a direct limitation of the UOCC independence.

The UOCC has been one of the few Eastern Orthodox Churches in the world where representatives of all parishes elect new bishops. Although the custom of electing a new bishop by all priests and laity of a diocese has existed for some time in the tradition of Eastern Orthodoxy, eventually, it was replaced almost everywhere by the system in which the Synod, a collegial body of the bishops of an autocephalous Church, elected new bishops. It has been the case in the Ecumenical Patriarchate as well, where all elections of bishops, if they were not made by the Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, had to be at least ratified by this Synod. For the UOCC, it was crucial to preserve the right of all Church members to have a direct impact in Church governance without pressure from outside forces.

Despite a possible threat for the two governance systems to clash, *status quo* in the process of bishops' elections was preserved. For instance, in 2005, instead of the deceased Metropolitan Wasyly Fedak, the General Council of the UOCC elected Archbishop John Stinka as a Primate of the Church. In 2010, Archbishop Yuriy Kalischuk replaced Archbishop John Stinka in this position.⁷² These decisions of the General Council were ratified by the Ecumenical Patriarch. In 2008, the Ecumenical Patriarch did not object to the election for two Canadian bishopric seats, Bishops Ilarion Rudnyk and Andriy Peshko who at the time of their elections

70 *Articles of Agreement between the UOC and Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople* (Winnipeg: "Ecclesia" Publishing Corporation, 2000), p. 37.

71 The leadership of the Ecumenical Patriarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada is symbolically exercised through the requirement for the UOCC to receive the chrism and antiminsia directly from the Patriarch. Chrism is blessed oil which is used in the ritual of confirmation. Antimension is a piece of cloth with relics inside, with representations of the entombment of Christ, the four Evangelists, and scriptural passages related to the Eucharist. The liturgy cannot be performed without a consecrated antimension. Thus, these symbols – antimension and chrism are serving as manifestations that the Ecumenical Patriarchate is recognized as the top spiritual leader of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. See *Articles of Agreement*, p. 37.

72 "The Enthronement of His Eminence Metropolitan John, Archbishop of Winnipeg and Metropolitan of Canada," *Visnyk/Herald* (August 2006), p.1, 3.

were not members of the UOCC, but were under the direct supervision of the Ecumenical Patriarch.⁷³

In 1995, another group of the Ukrainian Orthodox Christians outside of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA, formally joined the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This move led to the intensification of communication between the UOCC and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA. It was resolved at the General Council of the UOCC in 1995 to develop direct and regular relation with Ukrainian Orthodox Churches in Ukraine, North and South America, and other Churches in the world.⁷⁴ That same year, the Standing Conference of Ukrainian Orthodox Bishops in the Diaspora was created. Thus, Ukrainian Orthodox jurisdictions beyond Ukraine, paradoxically, became more connected with each other when they gave up full independence. The Conference of the Bishops of the Permanent Conference of Ukrainian Orthodox Bishops Outside Ukraine re-affirmed that there should be only one Ukrainian Orthodox Church beyond the measures of Ukraine which consists of three metropolises: Canada, USA, and Diaspora, each of them independent administratively.⁷⁵ The Standing Conference of Ukrainian Orthodox Bishops in the Diaspora became a tool to express joint positions of the Ukrainian Churches beyond Ukraine regarding various issues of political or Church nature in Ukraine. This organization of bishops started to issue letters dedicated to the major feasts and joint statements regarding the situation in Ukraine. In particular, some statements included requests and calls to the leader of the Moscow Patriarchate to acknowledge the new political reality of an independent Ukraine and to recognize an independent Orthodox Church in Ukraine.

The new status of the UOCC allowed the Ukrainian Orthodox clergy in Canada to engage more actively in communication with other Orthodox ethnic jurisdictions. The communication and cooperation between the Orthodox Churches are especially evident on the level of bishops. For instance, the UOCC joined the inter-Orthodox body in North America, the Standing Conference of Canonical Bishops in America (SCOBA). The Standing Conference of Canonical Bishops in America was created in 1961 as an association of the Orthodox bishops in North

73 "Extraordinary *Sobor* 2008 Highlights," *Visnyk/Herald* (October 2008), p. 3; "Tepyskop Andriy," *Visnyk/Herald* (August 2008), p. 1; "His Grace Bishop Hilarion of Telmissos," *Visnyk/Herald* (June 2008), p. 2.

74 "Resolutions adopted by the XIX *Sobor* of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. July 12-16, Winnipeg, Manitoba," *Visnyk/Herald* (February 1996), p. 11.

75 "Vazhlyvi Rishennia Conferentsii Tepyskopiv," *Visnyk/Herald* (July-September 1996).

America “for the consideration and resolution of common problems, the coordination of effort in matters of common concern, and the strengthening of that unity which is the essence of Orthodoxy.”⁷⁶ However, the main goal of this organization was to address the broader issue of how to unite all Eastern Orthodox Churches in North America into one jurisdiction.

Although unification of the Churches in North America may not be the aspiration of those people who attend various ethnic Eastern Orthodox Churches, hierarchs of the autocephalous Eastern Orthodox Churches are concerned how to resolve what they branded as a “problem of the Orthodox diaspora.” In an attempt to find some mechanisms to regulate the situation with the Orthodox diaspora, Eastern Orthodox bishops representing all Eastern Orthodox autocephalous Churches met for a Pan-Orthodox Conference from June 6th to 12th, 2009, in Chambésy, Switzerland.⁷⁷ Admitting that the establishment of local churches in Western Europe and North America was still a problematic question, they decided “to establish new Bishops Assemblies in certain regions throughout the world... namely for the Orthodox faithful that have settled outside the traditional boundaries of the local Orthodox Churches.”⁷⁸ In response to this resolution, the SCOPA ceased to exist in 2009 and was replaced by the American Conference of Orthodox Bishops (in the USA) and the Canadian Conference of Orthodox Bishops (in Canada).

In a situation when jurisdictions of different Eastern Orthodox Churches in North America overlap on the same territory, it has been important for the Eastern Orthodox community to acknowledge that all autocephalous Eastern Orthodox Churches share essentially the same doctrine and, while separated administratively, in fact they represent one Eastern Orthodox tradition. Although there has not been much cooperation between different Eastern Orthodox Churches in Canada, they have developed alternative ways to declare unity with each other. The custom was developed to organize church services in which all Eastern Orthodox clergy residing in the same place would participate. The most common time for this joint prayer service is the first Sunday of the Great Lent. In the evening of that day, which is known in the Orthodox calendar as the Sunday of Orthodoxy, priests of different jurisdictions would come

76 “The Constitution of the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas,” accessed February 15, 2012, <http://www.scoba.us/resources/constitution.html>

77 “Communiqué of the 4th Pre-Conciliar Pan-Orthodox Conference (Orthodox Center of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Chambésy-Geneva, June 6-12, 2009),” accessed on February 15, 2012, http://www.scoba.us/resources/chambesy_documents/chambesy_communique.html

78 “Communiqué of the 4th Pre-Conciliar Pan-Orthodox Conference.”

together to celebrate vespers (an evening prayer service). Usually, the place of this event changed every year and each of the Eastern Orthodox parishes in a city has a turn in hosting this inter-Orthodox event. This celebration may sometimes be the only event during the year when representatives of the ethnic Orthodox Churches convene for a church service. Declaring unity in understanding of the Orthodox teachings and dogmas, the Eastern Orthodox jurisdictions have minimum cooperation with each other, living in their own cultural ‘bubbles.’ The above-mentioned examples of the relations between different Eastern Orthodox jurisdictions demonstrate that the clergy of the UOCC received opportunity to communicate more closely with their colleagues from other Eastern Orthodox Churches. Yet, participation in the inter-Orthodox meetings did not lead to the limitation of the independence in the decision-making by the hierarchs and clergy of the UOCC.

3.1.3. Conciliar Governance

In October 2012, I was present at the Assembly of the UOCC Central diocese in Regina. Central diocese, one of the three dioceses of the UOCC, includes parishes in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Western Ontario. This Assembly consists of the Metropolitan, priests, and designated representatives from the parishes. While observing discussions at the Assembly sessions, I caught myself constantly making comparisons to how the Orthodox Churches in Ukraine might have approached similar issues. I was surprised to see that, unlike in Ukraine, all participants together made the decisions, regardless of their position within the Church. A bishop in the Eastern Orthodox Churches has the highest, almost absolute, authority within his diocese. The Eastern Orthodox canon law describes in details the mandate of a bishop to oversee the diocese; yet the canons did not prescribe the mechanisms of the priests and laity participation in diocese governance. Those assemblies or councils in the Eastern Orthodox autocephalous Churches, which include priests and laity, allow priests and laity to present their opinions on various church matters, but the final decisions are reserved for the bishops.

The UOCC has developed a very different understanding of the conciliarity. Therefore, at the Annual Assembly in Regina, while the bishop occupied the place of honour, participated in the discussion, and made remarks explaining some issues as an expert in theology and canon law, his suggestions were taken into account, but were not perceived as the final resolutions. This

single example of the conciliar governance at work may serve as one of the examples of a special role the conciliarity plays in the identity of the UOCC.

Although the UOCC maintained its old system of conciliar governance, some re-adjustments in the decision-making processes had to be made when the UOCC joined the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Albeit independent in governing its internal life, the UOCC coordinates its inter-Orthodox relations through the Ecumenical Patriarch. This new rule led to a serious conflict within the UOCC in 2012. In April 2012, a leader of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Kyiv Patriarchate Patriarch Filaret Denysenko, came to Canada with the delegation of the Ukrainian Council of Churches and Religious Organizations to honour the memory of the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky at the Canadian Parliament. It was initially announced that Patriarch Filaret Denysenko would be greeted at the church hall of the Saint Volodymyr Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Toronto. However, the Primate of the UOCC Metropolitan Yuriy Kalischuk, executing the directive of Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, issued a letter instructing clergy and laity to abstain from greeting officially Patriarch Filaret, a leader of the Church not recognized by other autocephalous Eastern Orthodox Churches. This decree of the Metropolitan caused a wave of anger and estrangement from many members of the UOCC.⁷⁹

This conflict illustrates the different approaches members follow in their understanding of authority in Eastern Orthodoxy. For many laity, the idea of conciliar governance, deeply rooted within the UOCC, meant the opportunity to have some level of influence at each stage of the Church's life. Consequently, the decrees issued by the hierarchy, which did not fall into agreement with the ideas shared by parishioners, might be interpreted as unjustly imposed. In this case, the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew's order and subsequent re-translation of this order by Metropolitan Yuriy Kalischuk in Canada, was seen as an act that contradicted the principles of the UOCC.

79 See the letter sent by Metropolitan Yuriy, "Regarding: the Arrival in Canada of "Patriarch Filaret"," accessed May 28, 2012, <http://ukrainianvancouver.com/eng/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Yuriy-and-Filaret.jpg>

3.2. Transnational Religious Connections between Canada and Ukraine: Flows of People, Ideas, and Resources (1990–2013)

Because there was no autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine that could have served as a point of reference, the UOCC existed independently as a religious organization of Ukrainians in Canada during a long period of time. In Ukraine, which was a part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from 1922 to 1991, religion was under the pressure of the ruling Communist Party. A branch of the Russian Orthodox Church represented the Orthodox Church in Ukraine during these years. Moreover, religion was pushed to the margins of the social life. In these circumstances, any close relationship between the Orthodox Church in Ukraine and the UOCC was not possible. When at the end of the 1980s, a political movement for the independence of Ukraine and a parallel movement for the restoration of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church unfolded, the UOCC responded to both the political transformations and the changes in religious life in Ukraine with great excitement and approval.

The official organ of the UOCC *Visnyk/Herald* exemplifies concerns and support from the Ukrainian Orthodox Christians in Canada to the autocephalous movement in Ukraine. The events regarding revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in 1989 were widely presented in the newspaper. Quite often, detailed descriptions of the events in Ukraine were placed on the front pages. For instance, the front pages of the *Visnyk/Herald* for the year 1990 were dedicated to decisions of some clergy and laity to leave the Moscow Patriarchate jurisdiction and join the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church. The participants of the 18th General Council of the UOCC, which was held in 1990, expressed their willingness to help in the revival of religious life in Ukraine.⁸⁰ In this way, the UOCC officially declared its support to attempts of the Ukrainian people to establish an autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine.

In 1991, the UOCC celebrated the 100 years anniversary of the Ukrainian settlement of Ukrainians in Canada, and 40 years of the establishment of the Ukrainian Orthodox Metropolitanate. This celebration was very different from any previous ones. In addition to the hierarchs of the UOCC, Metropolitan Ivan Bondarchuk from the restored Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church participated in these celebrations too.⁸¹ An invitation extended

80 “Resoliutsii Pryiniati na 18-mu Sobori Ukraïns’koï Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi, Shcho Vidbuvsia 5-8 Lypnia 1990 r. u Vinnipezi, Man.,” *Visnyk/Herald* (December 1990), p. 6.

81 “Velyki Sviatkovannia Skhidn’oi Ieparhii,” *Visnyk/Herald* (September 1991), p. 1.

by the UOCC to the representative of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church, represented a sign of loyalty and support of the UOCC to the events in religious life of Ukraine, in particular to the movement oriented to the formation of a self-governed Orthodox Church in Ukraine that would be totally independent from all foreign centres. Instead of the formation of one Orthodox Church in Ukraine, by the end of 1992, the Ukrainian Orthodoxy was divided into three ecclesial entities: Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Ukrainian Orthodox Church Kyiv Patriarchate, and Ukrainian Orthodox Church in union with the Moscow Patriarchate.⁸²

As a Church closely connected with Ukrainian culture, the UOCC had to address the issue of the divided Orthodox Church in Ukraine. Using its independence from all of the above-mentioned Churches, the UOCC became eligible to be an arbiter in this situation. So, at the invitation of the government of Ukraine, in 1993, the UOCC sent a delegation to Ukraine headed by Metropolitan Wasyly Fedak to dialogue with all three jurisdictions with the task of facilitating unification.⁸³ Despite consultations with the representatives of each of the three jurisdictions, the desired outcome was not achieved.

The UOCC had to obey the rule that the fourteen mutually recognized autocephalous Eastern Orthodox Churches accepted, limiting relations with any of the religious entities that may be Orthodox in their doctrine but are not in symbolic unity with other Eastern Orthodox Churches. Because of that, the UOCC leaders had to make some compromises in their policies trying to balance between different branches of the Orthodox Christianity in Ukraine. Yet, on the level of personal communication, there has always been communication and support of those ecclesiastical entities that are not still recognized by the international Eastern Orthodox community, namely, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Kyiv Patriarchate and Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. In some instances, the UOCC issued official statements of support to the above-mentioned jurisdictions. For example, when in 1996, the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Kyiv Patriarchate Volodymyr Romaniuk died, the General Council of the UOCC, which was held at that time, issued an obituary to the faithful in Ukraine.⁸⁴

The independence of Ukraine and the revival of religious life in Ukraine intensified transnational religious connections between Orthodox Christians in Canada and Ukraine. The

82 Only the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, as a part of the Moscow Patriarchate, is recognized by other autocephalous Eastern Orthodox Churches.

83 Stephan Jarmus, "Reflections on Our Visit to Ukraine" *Visnyk/Herald* (July 1993), p. 9.

84 "Sviatishyĭ Patriarkh Volodymyr Vidišhov u Vichnist'," *Visnyk/Herald* (August 1995), p. 8.

transnational religious flow of ideas, people, and resources could go both ways – from the country of origin (Ukraine) to the diaspora and from diaspora to the country of origin. Since it is usually a reciprocal process of exchange of the flow of people, resources, and ideas that are crossing borders, these transnational connections have an imprint on the lives of the people of both nations that participate in these connections.⁸⁵

The new influx of immigrants from Ukraine to Canada started after independence of Ukraine in 1991. More than 49,000 people emigrated from Ukraine to Canada in 1991–2011.⁸⁶ According to the 2011 Canada National Household Survey in Canada, 2,585 people who immigrated in this period self-identified themselves as Ukrainian Orthodox.⁸⁷ It does not mean, though, that all 2,585 people became parishioners of the UOCC. It is difficult to estimate the exact number of recent immigrants who attend Ukrainian Orthodox parishes regularly because the Consistory of the UOCC estimates Church membership based on the number of paid levies. Because the idea of paid membership in a Church is unusual for most new immigrants, they opt to not register as members of specific parishes.

Moreover, unlike the representatives of previous waves of immigration, Ukrainian immigrants of the new wave of immigration, which started in 1991, have not expressed the same level of attachment to the Church. Brought up in a secular socialist country where religion was pushed to the outskirts of their social life, they came to Canada at the time when religious revival had just started in Ukraine. Activists of the UOCC soon realized that new Ukrainian immigrants would not automatically join the Church and harmoniously integrate into existing community. Hence, the UOCC designated recent immigrants from Ukraine as the primary target of an active mission along with Canadian-born youth.

Despite all that, a fair number of recent immigrants started attending church services in Ukrainian Orthodox churches across Canada. Many parishes, mostly in urban centres, became places to help recent immigrants to adapt to their new lives in Canada. The newcomers that joined these parishes, on one hand, had to learn customs at these parishes, and, on another hand,

85 Robert Wuthow, and Stephen Offut, “Transnational Religious Connections,” *Sociology of Religion* vol. 69, no. 2 (2008), p. 209–32.

86 21,355 immigrants arrived in 1991-2000 and 28,060 immigrants arrived in 2001-2011. See “2011 National Household Survey in Canada,” accessed January 1, 2014, <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/index-eng.cfm?HPA>

87 “2011 National Household Survey in Canada,” accessed January 1, 2014, <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/index-eng.cfm?HPA>

the presence of recent immigrants from Ukraine changed the dynamics within the Canadian parishes. For example, the *Parish Growth Mission Recourse Guide*, published by the Consistory of the UOCC, noted that since new immigrants from Ukraine do not necessarily share the same religious conviction or cultural philosophy as representatives of previous immigration waves and their descendants, this problem created new challenges for the UOCC.⁸⁸

Transnational religious connections are manifested also in the flow of resources such as exchanges of money, knowledge, information, goods, and services between people in different countries.⁸⁹ When it comes to this exchange of information, the ‘homeland’ usually is the place to provide different forms of knowledge or customs that transferred to the ‘host country,’ but the reversal process is possible as well. For instance, at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, the UOCC became a very important donor of religious literature to the people in Ukraine. According to the estimation of the Consistory of the UOCC, as of December 1989, about 8,000 parcels were sent to private addresses in Ukraine.⁹⁰ Literature that was sent to Ukraine included Bibles, Catechism, special issues of prayer books, and different books on the history of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

3.3. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada as a Church for Canadians

While supporting Churches and individuals in Ukraine, the UOCC faced an internal crisis. In the 1990s, a decrease of Church membership became very obvious, which forced both clergy and laity of the UOCC to contemplate the reasons behind this decline and how to stop and overturn it. As a research assistant at St. Thomas More College, I transcribed interviews from the *Oral History Project: “Ukrainian–Canadians on the Prairies”* (2002–), which had been recorded with the Ukrainians in different parts of Saskatchewan. One of the interviews caught my attention especially, as it was conducted with an active member of the UOCC. The interviewee, a member of the one of the parish councils in Saskatchewan, referred to the examples of effective work with youth in other Churches – the Antiochian Orthodox Church in North America and Baptist Churches and at the same time criticized the inefficiency of youth programs in the UOCC. He stated that putting too much emphasis on Ukrainian cultural life

88 Andrew Jarmus, *Parish Growth Mission Recourse Guide* (Winnipeg: Office of Missions and Education, UOCC, 2003), p. 11.

89 Wuthow and Offut, “Transnational Religious Connections,” p. 209–32.

90 “Nespodivano Vdiachna Sprava” *Visnyk/Herald* (January 1990), p. 6.

actually harmed the Church and prevented reforms. As a result, in his opinion, it became difficult for the new generations of Ukrainian Canadians to find something relevant in the Church, where services are in Ukrainian language, which they did not understand.⁹¹ Similar concerns were expressed a bit earlier, in 1995, at the General Council of the UOCC. This Council called upon a need to strengthen religious education and the spiritual nurture of children and youth by emphasizing the importance of Ukrainian and Sunday schools, youth groups, altar-servers organization, summer camps, seminars, and spiritual literature.⁹²

One Church member in a column published in the *Visnyk/Herald* in 1995 expressed a call to implement changes:⁹³

There are limited programs to practice how to live a Christian life... I think that the day of just doing a service is over. I am a non-Ukrainian person. I am Canadian of Icelandic and English descent... but I am Orthodox first.

This statement is illustrative of the demographic changes in the Church membership. Although intermarriages of Ukrainian Canadians beyond their Ukrainian group have been often named as the major reason for people to leave the UOCC, they also became a source for a new category of parishioners. Understanding of the need not to ignore this category of parishioners eventually was instilled inside the UOCC.

The new vision of the Church was also nicely expressed in the mission pamphlet by Andrew Jarmus: “The Ukrainian Orthodox Church is the Orthodox Church which expresses her faith through the traditions and culture of the Ukrainian people – but not exclusively through (or for) the Ukrainian people.”⁹⁴ The decisions of the 20th General Council of the UOCC in 2000 encouraged the publication of the *Parish Growth Mission Recourse Guide*, a report to assist parishes in attracting new members.⁹⁵ This resource guide recognized that with the time the Church could attribute new characteristics. The author encouraged readers to be ready because Canadian culture will influence Orthodoxy. Therefore, Church members will go through the

91 M. Zip- #98, Oral History Project: “Ukrainian–Canadians on the Prairies” (2002–), Saskatoon, SK: Prairie Centre for the Study of Ukrainian Heritage, 2002.

92 “Iz Rezoliutsii XIX Soboru Ukraïns’koï Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v Kanadi, Shcho Vidbuvsia 11-16 Lypnia, 1995 roku, u Misti Vinnipeh” *Visnyk/Herald* (September 1995), p. 4.

93 “Resolutions adopted by the XIX *Sobor* of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada,” *Visnyk/Herald* (November 1995), p. 11.

94 Jarmus, *Parish Growth Mission Recourse Guide*, p. 19.

95 See “From “Vision 2000: A Blueprint for the Future of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada,”” *Visnyk/Herald* (December 2000), p. 3-8.

work of finding fitting cultural expressions of their faith. Priest Andrew Jarmus emphasized that people of different ethnic backgrounds who are interested in Eastern Orthodox Christianity are welcomed in the UOCC. The only demand to these people was to greatly respect the Ukrainian heritage through which the Orthodoxy is channelled to them.⁹⁶

Eventually, all these adaptations resulted in creation of the Revised By-Laws of the UOCC. The By-Laws, passed at the Extraordinary General Council on August 23, 2008, and amended at the 22nd General Council on July 15, 2010, do not limit membership of parishes or missions to only the Ukrainian population in Canada, but determine a parish as any group of people (not paying attention to the ethnic background of this group) who adhere to the faith, dogma, and ritual practice of the Orthodox Church and seek to become affiliated with the UOCC for religious worship.⁹⁷

Among challenging issues that General Councils of the UOCC and the Church leaders had to address was the question of the use of languages in communication and, most importantly, in the church services. The author of the article on Eastern Christians in the collection of essays *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, Myroslav Tataryn defines the use of the ethnic language in church services as one of the factors that complicates the retention of the Eastern Orthodox tradition.⁹⁸ Despite the constant decline of the numbers of people who could speak or understand Ukrainian, the UOCC opposed the idea to introduce English as the main language of communication within the Church and as a liturgical language. Only in 1995, despite some reluctance, the 19th General Council of the UOCC approved the use of the two official languages of Canada in all aspects of parish life. Specific decisions on the use of English or French in parishes were left to parishes and priests with an expectation that they would consult with the Council of Bishops in each individual case.⁹⁹ A decision to use English or French was seen as a necessary measure to attract to the Church young people of Ukrainian descent who do not understand Ukrainian. This action was also required so that those Church members with very little comprehension of Ukrainian could understand church services better. Thus, this

96 Jarmus, *Parish Growth Mission Recourse Guide*, p. 19.

97 "Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada: Revised By-Laws," accessed May 1, 2012, <http://www.uocc.ca/pdf/documents/UOCC%20Bylaws.Amended.July%2015.2010.pdf>

98 Myroslav Tataryn, "Canada's Eastern Christians," in Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, ed. *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p. 308.

99 "Resolutions adopted by the XIX *Sobor* of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada," *Visnyk/Herald* (December 1995), p. 11.

transformation in the Church policy, although being a departure from the original declared UOCC principles, matched the requirements of time. Yet, neither English nor French pushed away the Ukrainian language from the church services.

The Ukrainian language has lost its status as a major communicative tool within the UOCC, but it has acquired new level of appreciation. I would argue that with General Council resolution to allow the use of English or French in the liturgy, the Ukrainian language in the UOCC became somewhat similar to what Old Church Slavonic language meant to the Orthodox faithful in Ukraine or Russia. A large portion of the UOCC members either do not understand Ukrainian or might not have 100 percent comprehension of this language. Yet, Ukrainian is not being replaced by English, because the mere fact of using it in the church services serves as a connection to the ancestors.

Due to the fact that many readers of the official Church publishing organ *Visnyk/Herald* were not fluent in Ukrainian, delegates at the 19th General Council in 1995 requested that *Visnyk/Herald* be bilingual.¹⁰⁰ It meant that instead of using Ukrainian and English interchangeably, all articles originally published in Ukrainian had to be translated into English as well. In addition to the increase of English publications in the *Visnyk/Herald*, the General Council members expressed their critique to the editor for the lack of Canadian content in the newspaper. Although the editor Father Stephan Jarmus defended his point of view stating that this special attention to the events in Ukrainian should be seen as a moral obligation “to brothers and sisters in Ukraine” who might have *Visnyk/Herald* as their only source of information, starting with September 1, 1996, *Visnyk/Herald* became bilingual with about 70 percent of Canadian content.¹⁰¹

After the 19th General Council, one of the members of the General Council published his reflections on the forum. Among other things, he wrote:¹⁰²

I was born in Canada and love her for I am her son. However, this does not defer my love for Ukraine for this is the land of my roots, my language, my faith and my ancestors. Ukraine is the land of countless sufferers, who through the centuries died for what they held sacred – their cultural identity and that includes their language. It is the land of my past. I cannot deny my past for what future can I have; more so, any of us have if we deny our past. Respect for the past is necessary and this mean having respect at *Sobors*

100 “A Summary of Events from the XIX *Sobor*,” *Visnyk/Herald* (September 1995), p. 11.

101 The estimation made by me based on the systematic analysis of the content of the issues of this newspaper from 1990 to 2000.

102 Oleh Shawarsky, “*Sobor* 1995 – A Personal Reflection,” *Visnyk/Herald* (August 1995), p. 11.

for all those who came before us and built this Church that we all love. What shall our forbearers think of us, or for that matter, what shall posterity say of us if we turn our backs to all who came before and the principles they held dearly...

This way of self-identification is indicative of the transformations in the UOCC. Participants of the UOCC General Council in 1995 and other Church conventions faced the dilemma of how to develop the Church. On one hand, they felt the need to preserve the Ukrainian cultural heritage, including maintenance of Ukrainian language, seen as a sacred duty. On the other hand, their realization of themselves as Canadians, full of loyalty and love of their country, stimulated reinterpretation of the role of the UOCC.

A better understanding of their identity shifted within the UOCC and the reasons behind it came to me after I spent some time visiting Ukrainian Orthodox parishes scattered across Saskatchewan. My first trip to some Saskatchewan rural churches occurred in the summer of 2012. At one of the public events organized by the Prairie Centre for the Studies of Ukrainian Heritage, I met with Father Patrick Powalinsky who is a parish priest of the UOCC, serving eleven rural Saskatchewan churches united in one parish district. When I told him about my research on the modern history of the UOCC, he proposed I join him on one of his Sunday travels to his parishes. So, on one early Sunday morning I travelled with Father Patrick Powalinsky to one of the churches he oversees. We arrived at a small farm church in Gronlid. The liturgy started at 9 a.m. and was attended by 18 people. The church service was conducted both in Ukrainian and in English – the priest and the choir alternated these languages. It was my first experience of the service when a large portion of the liturgy at the Ukrainian Orthodox church was conducted in English. Later, Father Patrick Powalinsky would share with me that his choice of language in the liturgy was dictated by the composition of the congregation at a specific day. Although Ukrainian language is always used in the church services, its percentage in the liturgy was always changing.

A year later, in June of 2013, as a Prairie Centre for the Studies of Ukrainian Heritage researcher, I joined the team of the University of Alberta professors for the fieldwork in Saskatchewan on the *Sanctuary* project. Taking into account that many Ukrainian churches are in disrepair and some will be demolished soon, the *Sanctuary* project aims to document Ukrainian sacral culture on the Canadian prairies. Photographing churches (exterior and interior), bell towers, cemeteries, tombstones, and chapels in Saskatchewan, I was able to witness how the

presence of the UOCC is disappearing in the rural areas. Abandoned churches and congregations consisting of only five to ten people serve as a live evidence of the Church's decline. Albeit there are still 61 Ukrainian Orthodox churches in Saskatchewan, only at some of them are church services held regularly.¹⁰³ The fact that many of the rural churches still exist may be owed to the fact that the majority of these churches have cemeteries attached which together with these churches serve as visible monuments to the Ukrainian pioneers in the Canadian prairies.

Commemoration of the deceased relatives during religious ceremonies is common in many Christian churches and in other religions. In the case of the Ukrainian religious tradition in Canadian prairies, commemorative ceremonies acquired new special meaning. Frances Swyripa in her book on ethno-religious identity in the Canadian prairies mentioned that communal commemoration on Ukrainian cemeteries serves as a reminder to a group of people that they had ties to the Ukrainian nation.¹⁰⁴ This may explain why many of the small rural parishes which have just few members would still have at least one church service a year. This church service is held either on the feast day in commemoration of when the church was named or on the day of special commemoration of the deceased.¹⁰⁵ In both cases, a special memorial service is held at a cemetery.

A particular attention to the memory of Ukrainian pioneers is also reflected in the increasing interest in genealogy. This interest in genealogy among people led to the resolution of the General Council of the UOCC in 1995 to "enact a program to keep all records pertinent to Ukrainian Orthodox Church life of all members on a central computer database" to help second, third, or fourth generation Ukrainian families in search of their roots.¹⁰⁶ The need to maintain knowledge about deceased family members, especially, Ukrainian pioneers in the prairies, was reflected in a speech made around the feast table in the church of the Holy Ghost in Hafford, Saskatchewan. The local priest discussed the meaning of a *hramotka*: booklet with the names of deceased relatives. Parishioners gave their booklets to the priest, who, consequently, read these

103 "Annual Meeting of the Central Eparchy."

104 Frances Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), p. 204.

105 I attended one of the church's special feast days in the town of Hafford, SK, at the Ukrainian Orthodox church of Holy Ghost in June 2013. The liturgy was followed by a short service of the blessing of the water and procession led outside by the cross and banners. The long day of church services was to be followed by another procession to the cemetery.

106 "Resolutions adopted by the XIX *Sobor* of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada," *Visnyk/Herald* (November 1995), p. 11.

names out loud during memorial prayer services. Hafford's priest encouraged parishioners to keep these booklets at home as a reminder of their duty to pray for the deceased relatives. He also encouraged everybody to write down as much information as possible about the individuals mentioned in the booklet, so that everybody could know whom they are praying for.

The proposal to write down details about all people mentioned in memorial books might serve a dual purpose. On one hand it would help people commemorate their reposed relatives with a high level of attention and personal dedication; on the other hand these booklets could serve as valuable tools to keep memories of those ancestors who once settled in Saskatchewan. The role of these memorial booklets as sources of information about ancestors, in my opinion, is evidence of the interconnectedness of religious and ethnic identities. These lists of names with the details about birth dates and places of birth could be stimuli for individuals to evoke their sense of ethnic identity. Commemoration of ancestors and genealogy could help contextualize their identities as the question "where do I come from" is one of the fundamental questions people ask to position themselves in the world.

This chapter has pointed to the several adaptations that the UOCC has performed in the period of 1990 to 2013 in response to an ever-changing sociocultural reality. These adaptations required modification of the principles of the Church's identity:

- First, the association of the UOCC with the Ecumenical Patriarchate meant replacement of the principle of autocephaly with the principle of Eucharistic Communion with the world of Eastern Orthodoxy. Recognition on the international level by Eastern Orthodox Churches could have led to a significant shift in the way Church leaders form Church policies and members of the UOCC construct their religious identities. There were some adjustments made in the way the UOCC communicates with those Orthodox Churches which had not been accepted in the unity with fourteen mutually recognized autocephalous Churches. Many UOCC members developed resentment to the fact that the UOCC is under the guidance of a foreign religious leader and maintained their strong sense of self-reliance and self-sufficiency in the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition in Canada.

- Second, the UOCC conciliar system of governance remains to be a unique feature of the UOCC which allows laity to participate in decision-making at all levels.

- Third, the UOCC became further subject to the intensified transnational cultural flows because of the new wave of immigration from Ukraine to Canada starting in 1991; it had to become a Church of immigrants again. The Ukrainian churches in Canada became places that played crucial role in adaptation of the immigrants to the new country. Independence of Ukraine also led to a renewal of the ties of the UOCC with the Churches in Ukraine and a start of an exchange of ideas and resources between Canada and Ukraine.

- Lastly, the UOCC tried to find the ways to stop the decline of its membership. In particular, attempts were made to create an environment for the integration of non-Ukrainians in the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition. It also became evident that owing to cultural production and reproduction, some of the religious practices acquired new meaning.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOXY AS LIVED AND PRACTISED: THE CASE OF THE HOLY TRINITY UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CATHEDRAL PARISH IN SASKATOON

In the previous chapter, I examine how the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada transformed its institutional identity in the period of 1990–2013. The church went through several adaptations: the obtainment of a new status within the world of Eastern Orthodoxy, a move towards integration of new immigrants from Ukraine into the parishes, intensification of transnational religious connections with Ukraine, and modification of religious practice to accommodate the needs of Canadian-born parishioners with limited knowledge of Ukrainian, and Orthodox immigrants from other countries. In order to understand how these transformations impacted how the members of the UOCC negotiate their ethnic and religious identities, I conducted a focused study at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon. I present in this chapter my analysis of the research findings.

4.1. The Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity Parish in Saskatoon – A Case Study

The history of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Saskatoon goes back to the early 20th century. In those early times, the Ukrainian Orthodox faithful were organized around the only Orthodox parish in Saskatoon – the church of the Entry of the Most Holy Theotokos into the Temple, which had been established in 1916 as a parish under jurisdiction of the Russian diocese in North America.¹⁰⁷ Although this parish was called ‘Russian,’ a majority of its members were Ukrainians. In 1918, a group of Orthodox Ukrainians in Saskatoon decided to rename Saskatoon’s Orthodox parish as the Ukrainian Orthodox parish.¹⁰⁸ Founders of the Ukrainian Orthodox parish in Saskatoon were also the key figures in the formation of the UOCC.¹⁰⁹ The church of the Entry of the Most Holy Theotokos in Saskatoon remained

107 Hryhoriy Udod, *Ukraïns'ka Hreko-Pravoslavna Katedra Presviatoï Troïtsi v Saskatuni, 1918–1971 / Holy Trinity Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Cathedral of Saskatoon, 1918–1971* (Winnipeg; Saskatoon: Vyd. Katedry Presv. Troïtsi, 1973), p. 27.

108 *Collection of Material Relating to the 50th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada*, p. 292.

109 Three main leaders of the movement to form the new Church in Canada were Wasyl Swystun, a rector of the Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon, Mykhailo Stechishin, a lawyer from Saskatoon, and Wasyl Kudryk, an editor of *Ukraïns'kyï Holos/Ukrainian Voice*. See Yereniuk, *A Short Historical Outline of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada*, p. 13.

nominally under the ownership of the Russian bishop in Canada until 1924, but in reality this church became the centre of the Ukrainian Orthodox community, served by priests of the UOCC. This parish also became the first one in Canada to use the Ukrainian language in church services.¹¹⁰ The opportunity for Ukrainians to pray in the Ukrainian language played a special role in attracting new members to this Ukrainian Orthodox parish.

The dynamic growth of the Ukrainian Orthodox parish in Saskatoon continued after the Second World War. Many young Ukrainian professionals, arriving in Saskatoon at that time, joined the Ukrainian Orthodox parish. An increasing number of new parishioners arriving from rural Saskatchewan eventually prompted the need for a larger church building. In 1952, the Ukrainian Orthodox Christians of Saskatoon finished construction of the Cathedral with the name 'Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity.'¹¹¹ At that time, the parish consisted of 300 members with about 100 people attending the Cathedral from time to time.¹¹² The Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish became the centre of religious and social life. The church hall (auditorium), built in 1962, accommodated the needs of the parishioners not only as a place to worship but also as a place for social gatherings.¹¹³ Because the parish had both Ukrainian and Sunday schools, Ukrainian cultural education accompanied religious education in the parish.

The rise of the Cathedral membership led to the formation of a new Ukrainian Orthodox parish in Saskatoon. In 1969, the All Saints Ukrainian Orthodox parish was organized. Until 1980, when the construction of the new All Saints Church was completed, members of this parish used to gather for the church services at the Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon. The Petro Mohyla Institute is a university residence for Ukrainian students where majority of the Ukrainian Orthodox students from the rural Saskatchewan preferred to stay while studying in Saskatoon. Thus, this new parish became a community with many Ukrainian Canadian youth present.¹¹⁴

The Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Saskatoon is a good example of how every parish has its own unique features; yet each worshipping community also reflects the

110 The first church service in Ukrainian was conducted on June 18, 1922. See Udod, *Ukrains'ka Hreko-Pravoslavna Katedra Presviatoï Troïtsi v Saskatuni*, p. 37.

111 Udod, *Ukrains'ka Hreko-Pravoslavna Katedra Presviatoï Troïtsi v Saskatuni*, p. 100–101.

112 Udod, *Ukrains'ka Hreko-Pravoslavna Katedra Presviatoï Troïtsi v Saskatuni*, p. 147.

113 Udod, *Ukrains'ka Hreko-Pravoslavna Katedra Presviatoï Troïtsi v Saskatuni*, p. 138.

114 "Historical Highlights: 1969–2009 Presented at 40th Anniversary Celebration June 12–14, 2009," accessed February 20, 2013, <http://www.uocc.ca/pdf/churches/sk-all Saints/Brief%20History%201955-2012&%20Historical%20Highlights%201969-2009.pdf>.

general trends in church development. The general membership decline in the UOCC the 1990s affected the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon as well. However, this impact was of a lesser degree in comparison to many others, especially rural parishes. Stability in the membership numbers may be attributed to the fact that the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish has incorporated into its congregation those UOCC members who moved to Saskatoon from rural Saskatchewan areas.

Today, the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish includes about 250 members, making this parish one of the largest and most influential not only in Saskatchewan, but also in the UOCC in general.¹¹⁵ According to the report announced at the Central diocese meeting in October 2013 by the Chancellor of the UOCC, the UOCC had at that time only 9 parishes with the membership of more than 200 members, 11 parishes in the range of 100–200 people, 14 parishes with 26–50 members, and 126 parishes with only 1–25 members. Saskatchewan has the largest number of churches – 61, Manitoba – 40, Alberta – 57, Ontario – 22, British Columbia – 10, and Quebec – 3 parishes (see figure 3).¹¹⁶ Because the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon is one of only nine parishes of the UOCC with more than 200 members, ethnographic work at this parish offers valuable insights in how the UOCC have been continually adjusting to the changing Canadian sociocultural context.

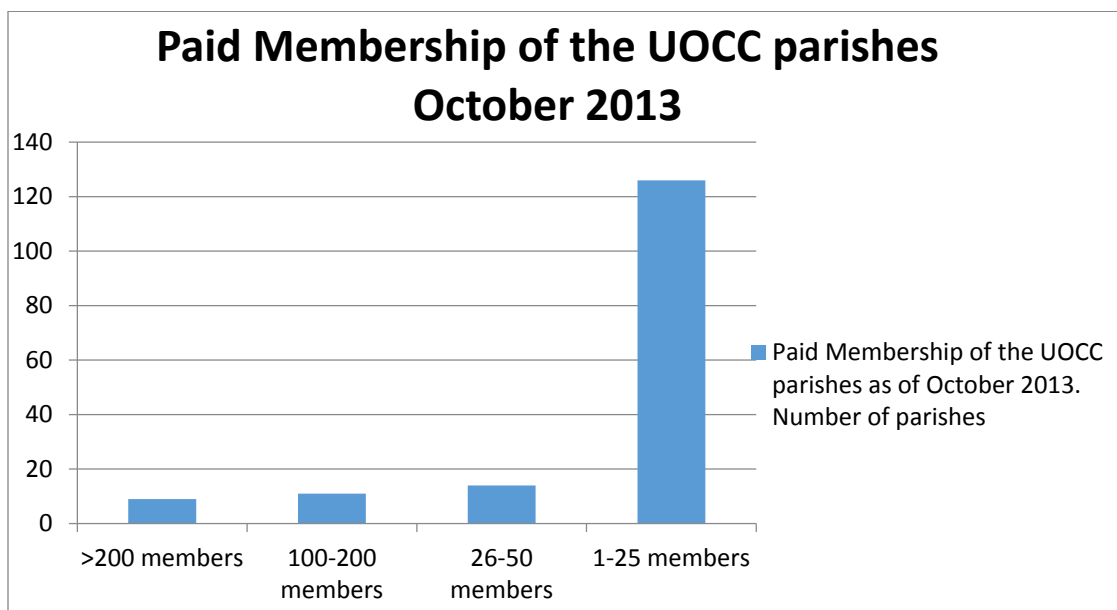


Figure 3: Paid Membership of the UOCC parishes. October 2013.

¹¹⁵ “Annual Meeting of the Central Eparchy.”

¹¹⁶ “Annual Meeting of the Central Eparchy.”

The parish council of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon claims that the Cathedral serves as a worshipping place to more than 400 people despite the fact that only 250 people are registered officially as parish members.¹¹⁷ Many of these 400 people visit the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity sporadically – either to gather on great feast days,¹¹⁸ such as Easter or Christmas, or to attend funerals, weddings, or baptisms. Although the primary task of the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity is as a worshipping place for Ukrainians, the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish hails itself as a community of people of different ethnic descents. In particular, some Romanians, Russians, Eritreans, and Belarusians attend the church services at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon. The Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish adapted the strategy that lies in attempts to satisfy the spiritual needs of the people of different ethnic descents by embracing Ukrainian culture and sharing it with the people who are attending the Cathedral.

I started attending the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon regularly, almost every Sunday since September 2011. In addition to the weekly attendance at the Cathedral, I was present at some other events organized at the parish on weekdays as well. While meeting with parish members, I had a chance to tell them about my intentions to study the history of the UOCC, and potentially, using the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish as a case study. Parishioners mostly met the idea to research the history of the UOCC with enthusiasm and support. So, when I approached the parish council¹¹⁹ with a request to grant me approval to conduct ethnographic work at the Cathedral, all members of the parish council supported it unanimously.¹²⁰

The life of religious communities is usually centred on communal weekly services. The Orthodox liturgical calendar is designed in a way that allows the serving of communal religious services every day; however, Sunday has always been the major day for communal worship. Church services are held at least once a week, on Sunday, at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity. Consequently, communal life at the Holy Trinity Cathedral is organized in

117 “Annual Meeting of the Central Eparchy.”

118 In the Eastern Orthodox tradition, there is a list of the great feast days: Nativity of the, Exaltation of the Cross, Presentation of the Theotokos, Nativity of Christ (Christmas), Baptism of Christ, Presentation of Jesus at the Temple, Annunciation, Palm Sunday, Easter, Ascension of Christ, Pentecost, and Dormition of the Theotokos

119 ‘Parish council’ is a local authority that makes decisions on behalf of the people in the parish.

120 See the text of the Research agreement in Appendix B.

such a way that Sunday liturgy is the centre of parish life. In this regard, the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish is different from many other parishes of the UOCC because services at the Holy Trinity Cathedral are held weekly. The parish priest is assigned to this parish only, unlike most other priests in Saskatchewan who serve a few parishes simultaneously.

Every Sunday at 10 a.m. the liturgy is held at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon. This church service usually lasts an hour and a half to two hours. All songs during the liturgy are sung in Ukrainian while the priest alternates Ukrainian and English languages. As I learnt from Father Taras Makowsky, he decides on the percentage of the English language used in the liturgy based on the congregation on a given Sunday.¹²¹ Before the liturgy, the priest usually ‘scans’ the congregation and if there are many younger Canadian families present, he uses more English during the service. If there are more recent immigrants from Ukraine, he would predominantly use Ukrainian. Readings from the Acts of the Apostles, Epistles, and Gospels are read both in Ukrainian and English. The sermon follows the liturgy, consisting of two parts: one in Ukrainian, and another in English. Sunday liturgy is usually attended by 80–120 people, depending on the Sunday. Senior parishioners are the majority in the congregation, but there are also a smaller percentage of the middle age parishioners, as well as some young families.

The UOCC follows the Julian rather than Gregorian calendar. Therefore, the Ukrainian Orthodox Christians in Canada celebrate all great feast days at different dates from the rest of the Christian Churches in Canada. Although it might seem to be illogical that Ukrainian Orthodox Christians celebrate feast days separately from other Christians, strong faithfulness to the Julian calendar helps to emphasize uniqueness of the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition. For instance, Christmas, celebrated on January 7th, is seen as an alternative to much commercialized celebration of Christmas on December 25th. Some Ukrainian Orthodox Christians in Canada deem Christmas on January 7th to be spiritual in contrast to December 25th. The celebration of Christmas on January 7th becomes a way to express their distinctive religious identity as well as Ukrainian ethnic identity. The distinction that is made between ‘English’ and ‘Ukrainian’ Christmases is one of the ways to accentuate an individual’s own ethnic identity. The notion of

121 Very Rev. Taras Makowsky, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, November 22, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

‘Ukrainian’ Christmas, then, is carried over into the local media and converts into a strong statement to a broader public about a distinct ethnic identity of Ukrainians in Canada.¹²²

There are a few great feast days during the year when the congregation at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon is larger than at any given Sunday service. These most popular great feast days include Christmas (January 7th), Epiphany’s Eve (January 18th), and Easter. It must be noted that these feast days are treated not only as Orthodox holy days, but also as distinctive Ukrainian feast days. These feast days are a way to express ethnic identity and to pay respect for Ukrainian ancestors. When I mention that great religious holidays are also revered as ethnic holidays, I mean that it is almost impossible to separate the religious from the cultural components in the celebrations. For instance, one of the striking visible peculiarities of the great feast days is the way parishioners dress for these church services. On great feast days, many parishioners (perhaps even the majority of them) choose to dress in traditional Ukrainian embroidered shirts. In this way, the space of the Cathedral is the place where parishioners express their ethnic identity through the medium of Ukrainian traditional clothing. The priest’s embroidered vestments can also be seen as a way to emphasize the distinctiveness of the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition.

The parish life is not limited to the liturgy only, as it is the case in most Orthodox churches in Ukraine. For instance, on Sundays, a ‘tea fellowship’ is offered following the liturgy in the church basement, something that may be called ‘after-liturgy.’ Although it is not a part of the liturgy, it is a logical and much expected continuation of the church service. Because of the place where this lunch is organized (church basement), it is even possible to wonder whether this ‘tea fellowship’ could be seen as a part of the religious ritual itself. Rituals in Christian churches are not limited to prayers; hence communal gatherings around a meal may also be counted as rituals that serve to reinforce distinctive religious and ethnic identities.

Jonathan Z. Smith argued in his work *To Take Place: Toward Theory of Ritual* that nothing is inherently sacred or profane; something may become sacred by the mere fact of it happens at a temple.¹²³ He asserted that something becomes significant because of the special attention attached to the event. Therefore, in my opinion, even the meal in the church basement

122 For examples, see: “Ukrainian community begins Christmas celebrations,” accessed December 1, 2013,

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/saskatchewan/ukrainian-community-begins-christmas-celebrations-1.1400241>

123 Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 104.

could be considered as a communal ritual of religious nature. People come to the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity to find answers to a wide range of their requests: be it a need for communication with others or an experience of prayers. The Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon may, therefore, be seen as a focusing lens where the ordinary becomes significant through religious ceremonies which help parishioners make sense of the “incongruities of the world.”

4.2. Canadian-born Parishioners of Ukrainian Descent – What Does the Church Mean to Them?

Given the diversity in the parish’s membership, the parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon can be divided into at least four groups: Canadian-born parishioners of Ukrainian descent, recent immigrants from Ukraine (immigrants who arrived to Canada in 1990-2013), Canadian-born parishioners of non-Ukrainian ethnic background, and Orthodox immigrants from other countries.

The group comprised of Canadian-born parishioners of Ukrainian descent is by far the largest part of the parish. These representatives of the second, third, and forth generations of Ukrainian Canadians are the backbone of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon. Each of these parishioners was brought up with some level of Ukrainian cultural involvement. For many of them, especially the ones who grew up on farms, the Ukrainian language and customs were an integral part of their family lives. Involvement in Ukrainian cultural life meant speaking in Ukrainian with parents or learning the Ukrainian language at school or attendance at Ukrainian cultural organizations where one was able to learn Ukrainian dances, songs, and crafts. Attendance of Ukrainian churches was also part of their childhood Ukrainian cultural experience. Most of the Canadian-born parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon were brought up in the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition, yet they were exposed to some degree to other religious traditions either in their childhood or in early adulthood. It means that a lot of the parishioners had to make a conscious decision to align with the UOCC. I conducted interviews with twelve parishioners representing this group within the parish.

Mrs. Pat Hawryliw, whom I mentioned before as one of my key interviewees, is an active Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish member in her early 70s.¹²⁴ Mrs. Hawryliw is a third generation Ukrainian Canadian: her grandparents on both parental and maternal sides were immigrants from Ukraine. Because Mrs. Hawryliw used to live in a close proximity to the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon, from her young years she has been closely connected with this parish. In terms of religious education, Mrs. Hawryliw was exposed to different aspects of various religions, but Sunday school and the Ukrainian school at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon became the central part of her religious and cultural education. Mrs. Hawryliw represents a generation of Ukrainian Orthodox parishioners who have been continuously involved in the UOCC life. Listening to her story, I came to the conclusion that religious and cultural components have always been interrelated in her life and religious Orthodox identity is not separated from the ethnic Ukrainian identity.

At the current moment, Mrs. Pat Hawryliw spends a lot of time at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon. In addition to being a singer in a choir, she applies her skills as a baker at the parish hall. Being a third generation baker, Mrs. Hawryliw may be considered a principal baker of the parish. A few times a year, women from the parish gather at the church hall to bake traditional Ukrainian breads.¹²⁵ Making Ukrainian *paska* (Easter bread) or *kolach* (Christmas and wedding bread) at the church hall is a cultural exercise, because making ethnic food by representatives of ethnic minorities could be a way to express a distinct ethnic identity.

This experience of Mrs. Hawryliw and other women at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon is comparable with the examples Natalia Khanenko-Friesen presented in her book about continuity and vitality of the Ukrainian Canadian culture at the end of the 20th century. She wrote about the influence of preparation and consumption of the traditional Ukrainian food on the reinforcement of the Ukrainian ethnic identity. Khanenko-Friesen supports her argument analyzing preparation of food for a wedding by a cooking committee of a Ukrainian Catholic organization in the Albertan town of Mundare. This cooking committee, comprised of women of the Ukrainian ethnic descent, is invited from time to time by

124 Pat Hawryliw, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, December 8, 2012, Saskatoon, SK.

125 The principal organizer of these events is a Saskatoon's Olha Kobylanska Branch of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada.

the Mundare residents to cook for special occasions such as weddings. Khanenko-Friesen asserted that these women in the process of food preparation enter the world of ritual unity or, using the terminology of Victor Turner, *communitas*.¹²⁶ Because cooking for a wedding is an exhausting and complex task, every woman in this group has her own precisely defined role. Each time these women gather to cook, they experience a sense of the ritual unity. In this world of ritual unity these women experience their collective Ukrainian identities. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian dishes, cooked by these women and served to the Mundare community, are the most evident of the local representations of Ukrainianness.¹²⁷

Baking Ukrainian breads at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox parish hall in Saskatoon could also be treated as a way to establish the world of ritual unity. A special significance may be found in the ritual meaning of the Easter bread and Christmas bread which can be traced back to the pre-Christian roots. However, I would like to emphasize the meaning of communal activity of bread-making at the parish hall. People who share similar religious convictions and constitute a religious community unite in bread-making. These bread makers do a Christian duty to support the church since the bread is sold to raise funds for the Cathedral. In a way, this activity reinforces religious identities of these bread-makers by instilling the value of personal sacrifice and support of the Church. More importantly, this event serves as a way to unite the community. The feeling of community may, in fact, be regarded as an important feature of the religious identity of Eastern Orthodox people.

The church is valuable for parishioners not only as a worshipping place, but as a place of communication. In the interviews, parishioners indicated that participation in liturgies and non-liturgical parish lives were equally important to them. This is how the parish's president Mr. Larry Balion explained the reasons that encourage people to attend the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity:¹²⁸

LB: When you talk about the parish life, why do you go to church? You know, you go for the religious part of it in your faith, but there is also the human interaction. And what you are getting in a parish setting, and how you feel in that acceptance and love, and all those things that deal with Christianity, and being together as a church family.

126 Natalia Khanenko-Friesen, *Inshyĭ Svit abo Etnichnist' u Diĭ: Kanads'ka Ukraĭns'kist' Kintsia Dvadtsiatoho Stolittia / Ethnicity in Action: Canadian Ukrainianness at the end of the 20th century* (Kyiv: Smoloskyp Publishers, 2011), p. 232.

127 Khanenko-Friesen, *Inshyĭ Svit abo Etnichnist' u Diĭ*, p. 234.

128 Larry Balion, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 3, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

Mr. Balion linked church attendance with parish life and a sense of community that can evolve through that. A strong emphasis on the role of the church as a place to unite people into a community is one of the features that differentiate the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition in Canada and Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Ukraine. In Ukraine, Orthodox churches function primarily as worshipping places, – in fact, liturgical life is the main if not the only part of the parish life. In Canada, although the liturgy is a centre of the communal life too, non-liturgical parish life is considered to be equally important. For example, following the liturgy at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral there is something that I like to call an ‘after-liturgy.’ By ‘after-liturgy’ I mean the time after the church services that people attending the Cathedral use to socialize with each other – either in the main part of the church building or having a cup of coffee or tea in the church basement. A ‘tea fellowship’ in the Cathedral basement is offered almost every Sunday. A few of the interviewees indicated these opportunities ‘to see the friends’ among the primary reasons that motivated them to attend church.¹²⁹

Those Canadian-born parishioners who have had a chance to visit Ukraine expressed in their interviews an awareness of the differences in how the church and parish life are understood in Canada and in Ukraine. Two interviewees used an interesting term when describing churches in Ukraine: ‘come-and-go’ churches.¹³⁰ These interviewees used the term ‘come-and-go’ churches to describe the atmosphere in some urban churches in Ukraine (for example, in Kyiv and in Lviv), where they saw people staying at the church for some time and leaving before the end of the church service. In contrast to that, the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon is not a ‘come-and-go’ church, because this is a community where through liturgy and non-liturgical parish life the Ukrainian ethnic identity is revitalized.

For some parishioners, continuous participation in parish life at the Ukrainian Orthodox churches has been a logical choice as they were brought up in the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition. When starting their own families and relocating to the new places of residence, they would almost automatically start looking for a Ukrainian Orthodox parish.¹³¹ There were also parishioners who had to make a conscious decision to return to the Ukrainian Orthodoxy after

129 Bohdan Kowal (pseudonym), interview by Yuriy Kirushok, December 5, 2012, Saskatoon, SK; Stanyslaw Hawryliw, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 1, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

130 Cindy Didula, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 28, 2013, Saskatoon, SK; Pat Hawryliw, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, December 8, 2012, Saskatoon, SK.

131 Hryts' (pseudonym, chosen by the interviewee), interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 2, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

attending other Churches. The story of Mr. Rodney Antonichuk is a good example of the return to the UOCC after a temporary leave.¹³² Mr. Antonichuk, born in Saskatoon in 1962, like many other children from Ukrainian families in Canada, spoke Ukrainian at home. However, still at a very young age, English became his main language of communication. In the words of Mr. Antonichuk, his grandparents did everything possible to become a part of Canadian landscape while maintaining Ukrainian culture. Mr. Rodney Antonichuk, on the other hand, represents that generation of Ukrainians in Canada who assimilated into Canadian society much more easily than the generations of his parents or grandparents. Marriages of Ukrainian Orthodox people in Canada with non-Orthodox or Orthodox non-Ukrainian people have been cited as one of the major reasons why many people who were brought up in the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition leave the Church. Mr. Antonichuk also indicated that his marriage with a non-Ukrainian predisposed eventual movement away from regular attendance at Ukrainian Orthodox churches. He started attending Protestant churches. However, about ten years ago, Mr. Antonichuk became a member of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon and soon a member of the parish council in the position of vice-president. This is how Mr. Antonichuk described his return to the UOCC:¹³³

RA: About twenty years ago my interest in our Church, in our culture, in our community started to pick up a little more [...] but it was a very slow transition. I had an uncle that passed away in... 2001. And the day that we buried him, he was buried in church, in our church. In the day that we buried him, something has happened. Nothing... like, God did not speak to me, but there was a feeling that I needed to get back home. And literally, from that Sunday onward I have made the Cathedral and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada a big part of my life.¹²⁰

Mr. Antonichuk was attracted to the liturgical form of worship at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral. A circle of new friends whom Mr. Antonichuk made in the parish contributed to his decision to become an active member of this parish. It must be said that active involvement in the parish life of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon also meant a deepening of his Ukrainian cultural involvement. It eventually led Mr. Antonichuk to become a president of the local Saskatoon branch of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association, a lay Ukrainian Orthodox organization with a mission to promote the Ukrainian Canadian culture.

132 Rodney Antonichuk, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 30, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

133 Rodney Antonichuk, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 30, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

Mrs. Nadine Potts also represents a group of those parishioners who were brought up in the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition but whose involvement in the UOCC eventually was minimized. Mrs. Potts, a third generation Ukrainian Canadian, was born in 1946 in Porcupine Plain, Saskatchewan.¹³⁴ Because Porcupine Plain did not have a large Ukrainian community, her father sent her to get religious education classes at the Sunday school of the United Church in Porcupine Plain. When Mrs. Potts married an Anglican man, she started attending Anglican churches; her attendance at Orthodox churches became limited. Only after she moved to Saskatoon, did Mrs. Potts become a member of an Orthodox church. Similar to other parishioners who returned to UOCC after some absence Mrs. Potts, stated that, “It was almost like a coming home for me, because I have gone there as a young girl.”¹³⁵

It is worth noting that what unites these stories is a use of the metaphor of ‘going back home’ in relation to the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon. A return ‘home’ means a return to the familiar Ukrainian religious tradition, the one that was especially worthy for parents and grandparents of my interviewees. By attending a Ukrainian Orthodox church, parishioners reinforce their ethnic identity as Ukrainian Canadians. For their ancestors – immigrants from Ukraine – the Ukrainian church was a ‘home away of home,’ where they were able to rebuilt the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition that connected them to their historic homeland. For the third and fourth generations of Ukrainian Canadians, the ‘old country’ Ukraine does not have the same meaning. Instead, Ukrainian churches are points of reference and ‘homes’ associated with a distinct Ukrainian Canadian ethnic identity.

4.3. Recent Immigrants from Ukraine at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral Parish in Saskatoon

The Ukrainian Orthodox community, historically, has helped immigrants to adapt to new settings in Canada. For instance, in 1950, a special welcoming committee was established to welcome Ukrainians who arrived from Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War.¹³⁶ The new wave of immigration from Ukraine that started in the late 1980s revived the need to serve Ukrainian immigrants. A small percentage of the fourth wave immigrants from Ukraine chose Saskatchewan as their destination in the 1990s. However, dynamic economic development and

134 Nadine Potts, Interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 29, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

135 Nadine Potts, Interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 29, 2013, Saskatoon, SK

136 Udod, *Ukrains'ka Hreko-Pravoslavna Katedra Presvītoi Troitsi v Saskatuni*, p. 93.

subsequent changes in immigration policies of Saskatchewan, as well as the launch of a special Saskatchewan immigration program, has attracted Ukrainian immigrants to Saskatchewan since the mid-2000s. In the period of 2006–2011, 465 immigrants from Ukraine moved to Saskatoon for permanent residence.¹³⁷ After arrival in Saskatoon, some immigrants started attending the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon. The increased numbers of new arrivals was also reflected in Cathedral attendance.

Because the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish, reflecting the general decline of the UOCC membership, has started to have an ageing membership as well parishioners saw the arrival of immigrants from Ukraine as a chance to renew the Church. For instance, Mr. Hrycuik, describing the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish, stated: “If it wasn’t for the influx of the new immigration from Ukraine, we wouldn’t have members. Immigrants are bringing back new life.”¹³⁸ All Canadian-born parishioners whom I interviewed made a point that the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish and parish members themselves had to adjust in such a way that the recent immigrants from Ukraine would feel welcome in this parish to become important additions to the parish.

I met after one Sunday liturgy with a family who arrived in Saskatoon recently from Ukraine. Mr. Mykhailo Tetera, who came to Canada to work in Saskatoon, was later joined by his wife and children.¹³⁹ After I explained for the Teteras in brief terms what I was doing, they expressed uncertainty whether they could help me, stating that they had not been in this parish for very long. When I assured them that their opinions would be valuable for me in any case, they gave me their contact information. As soon as I arrived at Tetera’s house, Mrs. Tetiana Tetera invited me to the kitchen, where I explained in detail the goals of my research as well as the procedure of interviewing. Mrs. Tetiana Tetera served the table and invited me and Mykhailo for dinner. As one would expect, we were treated to Ukrainian dishes, including delicious *borshch*. It was around the dinner table that we continued our conversation in an informal manner, exchanging the stories of our arrival to Canada.

137 “NHS Profile, Saskatoon, CMA, Saskatchewan, 2011,” accessed February 20, 2014, <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/prof/>

138 James Hrycuik, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, December 29, 2012, Saskatoon, SK.

139 Mykhailo and Tetiana Tetera, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, February 1, 2013, Saskatoon, SK. (Interview was conducted in Ukrainian. Translation is mine).

While explaining the mechanics of interviewing, I mentioned that my interviews were designed for one-on-one conversation; Tetiana immediately said she would love her husband to be interviewed, stating that “he could speak on behalf of our family.”¹⁴⁰ Comfortably seated around the kitchen table, we started the interview. Usually, I start an interview asking participants to tell me about themselves. This type of opening allows my informants to get comfortable in addition to being a good way for me to understand how these people prefer to self-identify. This interview was quite different from the other interviews, as Tetiana Tetera, who initially asked to be just an observer of the interview process, giving her husband the right to represent their family in the interview, eventually joined the conversation. Hence, the interview almost immediately transformed from a one-on-one conversation to an interview with two interviewees.

In his introduction, Mykhailo Tetera emphasized that he is a descendant of an old Ukrainian Cossack family who trace their roots back to the famous Ukrainian hetman Pavlo Tetera. When asked about the role of the church in their lives, Mykhailo was very concise and emphasized a couple of functions of the church that were appealing to him: he noted a special meaning of the church as a spiritual place that allowed to distance from everyday life, and the role of the church as a place of socialization, as well as being one more institution to help in adaptation to the new cultural environment:¹⁴¹

MT: We are working all week and when you go to the church, your soul gets in peace, especially when you hear your language and you get boost of energy. This energy will last you for at least half of the next week. Secondly, you could see your friends at the church, whom you would not see otherwise. It is also very pleasant to share your happiness or grief and listen to others. And, of course, if you are absorbed by the liturgy, you also recall your relatives. For example, my parents are already senior and every time you recall them and connect with them. [...].

For recent immigrants from Ukraine, attendance of a Ukrainian church is a way to immerse in familiar environment. Sunday liturgy serves as a way to connect with God, but also as a reminder of similar services in Ukraine, and, therefore, bringing up memory of those relatives who are still in Ukraine. In the Eastern Orthodox liturgy, there is a prayer when the priest reads out-loud lists of the names that parishioners have passed to him. Reading the names

140 Mykhailo and Tetiana Tetera, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, February 1, 2013, Saskatoon, SK. (Interview was conducted in Ukrainian. Translation is mine).

141 Mykhailo and Tetiana Tetera, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, February 1, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

of relatives in the Ukrainian language during the church service becomes, therefore, a way to symbolically connect with those relatives who live in Ukraine.

The importance of communication with people while attending the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon came up a few times in the interviews with Maria Melenchuk and Roman Pavlov. I got acquainted with them on the second day after my arrival to Saskatoon.¹⁴² Like me, Maria came to Saskatoon from Ukraine to study at the University of Saskatchewan. She became in a way my mentor who shared with me her experiences of adjusting to a Canadian school. Maria Melenchuk and her husband Roman Pavlov have regularly attended the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon; they offered to give me rides to the Cathedral on Sundays. While returning from church on Sundays, we would sometimes discuss what has happened at the Cathedral, and yet it took me a while to eventually invite them to be formally interviewed for this project. Both Roman and Maria are Orthodox Christians; they grew up in post-Soviet Ukraine at the time of the massive revival of interest in religion. Although they were both baptized and used to visit churches in Ukraine from time to time, neither of them attended church regularly. In fact, they started going to church only after they met each other.

Maria told me, “We went to church on the first Sunday after we arrived in Saskatoon [...] there was such an emotional need for that.”¹⁴³ The Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon was not the first church Maria and Roman started attending in Saskatoon. Initially, they went to the Ukrainian Catholic Church of St. Peter and Paul, but a few things at that parish seemed to be unusual for Roman and Maria as recent immigrants. As Maria pointed out, the congregation of St. Peter and Paul Catholic Church consisted of second, third, or fourth generations of Ukrainian Canadians who spoke English. So, it was at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, where Roman and Maria met more ‘like-minded’ newcomers from Ukraine. Characterizing the Cathedral, Maria noted that they felt ‘at home’ there.¹²⁸ It must be noted that the word ‘home’ in relation to church has been used by many other interviewees – by both those born in Ukraine and by the Canadian-born.

142 Maria Melenchuk, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 28, 2013, Saskatoon, SK (Interview conducted in Ukrainian, translation is mine); Roman Pavlov, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 30, 2013, Saskatoon, SK (Interview conducted in Ukrainian, translation is mine).

143 Maria Melenchuk, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 28, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

Church services in Ukrainian and a good choir that sings familiar tunes by composers from Ukraine were among the things that attracted Mrs. Nataliia Pavlovska to this parish.¹⁴⁴ Mrs. Pavlovska (33 years old) came to Canada in 2007 from Chernihiv, a city about 140 km north of the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv. Chernihiv is a city where Russian is the dominant language; therefore, Russian was also Mrs. Pavlovska's first language. She studied Ukrainian at school, but it was only when she was in the 10th grade that Ukrainian replaced Russian as the language of teaching in school. When Mrs. Pavlovska entered university, all the classes were already taught in Ukrainian, which helped her to improve her knowledge of the Ukrainian language. Surprisingly, Mrs. Pavlovska's Ukrainian language skills became useful when she moved to Canada. In an unfamiliar environment, not knowing other people, and with limited knowledge of English, Mrs. Pavlovska was happy to learn that there was a Ukrainian church in Saskatoon. Mrs. Pavlovska and her husband made a point to reserve Sunday mornings for church.

Unlike many other immigrants, Mrs. Nataliia Pavlovska quite often stayed after Sunday church services for the 'tea fellowship,' where she could communicate with other parishioners. Through this communication she made new acquaintances that helped in her transition to the new country. Although the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish became a welcoming environment, Mrs. Pavlovska was required to make some adjustments. For instance, she started to use Ukrainian more often than she would usually do. Mrs. Pavlovska's remembers well her first visit to the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon. Orthodox churches in Ukraine do not have pews, so pews are usually associated with the Roman Catholic Church in the minds of parishioners. Thus, when Mrs. Pavlovska first entered the Cathedral, she noticed the pews, and left this church assuming that this might be a Roman Catholic church rather than an Orthodox church.

While Mrs. Pavlovska has been primarily using Ukrainian to communicate at the Cathedral, for other Russian-speaking Ukrainian immigrants, transition to the Ukrainian language was not as easy. Russian is the predominant language in eastern Ukraine, especially in big cities. It is from these industrial centres that some immigrants recently started arriving in Saskatoon. Although the parish members make various steps to welcome new immigrants, there have been some issues in communication between the Canadian-born parishioners and recent

144 Nataliia Pavlovska, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, February 6, 2013, Saskatoon, SK. (Interview conducted in Ukrainian, translation is mine).

immigrants from Ukraine. This is how Canadian-born Holy Trinity Cathedral parishioner James Hryciuk described these problems in communication¹⁴⁵

JH: There is a problem in communication aspect because they speak Russian. 10-12 times that happened when I tried to speak Ukrainian, but they speak Russian [...]. Older members of the church are not speaking with Ukrainian newcomers.

The fact that some Ukrainian recent immigrants spoke Russian and some were not able to switch to Ukrainian in conversations seemed to be almost incomprehensible for the older parishioners. These older parishioners were brought up with a belief that the Ukrainian language should be treated with special attention as an important component of the Ukrainian culture. Thus, the fact that Ukrainians from Ukraine could not use the Ukrainian language was strange to them. Although many people in the community might have shared this attitude, the parish council made a conscious decision to ensure that all recent immigrants regardless of the language they spoke would be welcomed at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish. Mrs. Anna Paturova, an immigrant from Ukraine, described how parishioners approached this issue: “We do not talk in Ukrainian at home, instead we are using English. It should not matter what language people choose to use at home – we have to accept everyone.”¹⁴⁶

The parish priest Taras Makowsky has been advocating a policy to welcome everyone into the parish. In the interview, Father Taras Makowsky noticed that “being a priest today is very different [...]. We are becoming a missionizing church again.”¹⁴⁷ In Father Taras Makowsky’s opinion, the major problem for the Church is that other events, such as sporting or cultural events push the church to the outskirts of social life. The loss of interest in the Church life is universal, and lack of interest in the Church is obvious in other countries, including Ukraine. Understanding his special role in missionizing work, Father Taras Makowsky is making sure all people, regardless of the language they speak, feel welcomed at the Cathedral. This decision required some level of adjustment on his part. For instance, Father Taras Makowsky had to learn some Russian in order to understand those people who addressed him in Russian.

Accommodating the needs of recent immigrants at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon has become one of the priorities. At the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon, there are pews, where the majority of the

145 James Hryciuk, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, December 29, 2012, Saskatoon, SK.

146 Anna Paturova, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, February 16, 2013. Saskatoon, SK.

147 Very Reverend Taras Makowsky, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, November 22, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

congregation stay during church services. In contrast, Orthodox churches in Ukraine do not have pews and it is a custom to stand up for the whole duration of the church service. The Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon has some space in the back where those who wish could stand during the church services. Recent immigrants from Ukraine usually occupy these spaces. By opting out to stand during church services, they are trying to make their church experiences as similar to the customs and traditions accepted in Ukraine as possible.

4.4. Integrating non-Ukrainians into the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral Parish in Saskatoon

Being an important institution for the immigrants from Ukraine, the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon has to be also inviting to those people who are not of Ukrainian descent. Mrs. Cindy Didula, an active parish member, born in Canada, in a family of English Canadian ethnic descent, became very familiar with the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition because of her husband. She attended church because “what is important to my husband is important to me.”¹⁴⁸ Although the need to support her husband prompted her initial intention to decide to attend the Ukrainian Orthodox church, eventually, Mrs. Didula became attracted to this community because of the good social circle at the parish: “We have a great social circle there. I won’t say that I am particularly religious, but I always felt comfort in a church.”¹⁴⁹ A welcoming committee from the parish visited Didulas one evening, which became one of the deciding factors for the Didulas to join the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon. This extra attention from the parish members inspired Mrs. Cindy Didula to attend church, but also to become an active member of the parish, involved in different aspects of the parish life. In particular, Mrs. Didula joined the church choir, “I sing in the choir, although I don’t know how to read Ukrainian. So, I had to memorize everything.”¹⁵⁰

Bringing the English language into church service may be regarded as a way to attract new parishioners. At the same time, many of the Church members emphasize that removal of the Ukrainian language from services would not automatically lead to an increase in Church membership. In fact, the Ukrainian language is seen as an essential component of the Ukrainian

148 Cindy Didula, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 28, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

149 Cindy Didula, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 28, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

150 Cindy Didula, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 28, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

Orthodox practice. Mrs. Roberta Helmke, who was born in a mixed Ukrainian-English Canadian family, recognized that the Ukrainian language is essential in the church services:¹⁵¹

RH: It's important that we do English and Ukrainian, because a lot of the people of my age haven't married Ukrainians. So, it's not fair to them to do the whole service in Ukrainian. I am not opposed to do the third Sunday of month in Ukrainian and the rest half in half, judging who is in the church. *Otet's'*¹⁵² usually looks at who is at church that day, and if it's mostly newcomers, he does more Ukrainian."

The decision of a non-Ukrainian individual to support a spouse, who was born into a Ukrainian Orthodox family, may explain the presence of the parishioners of non-Ukrainian descent in the communities of the UOCC. The situation in which a Canadian person of non-Ukrainian background begins to attend a Ukrainian Orthodox church after marrying into a family with a Ukrainian cultural background is not out of the ordinary. However, there is also another group of non-Ukrainian parishioners at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish. Immigrants from such countries as Romania or Eritrea might not be necessarily interested in specifically the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition but attend Ukrainian churches because they belong to the Eastern Orthodoxy.

The expatriates from traditionally Eastern Orthodox countries select the Ukrainian Orthodox parish as a place of worship, which seems logical when Ukrainian is a lone Orthodox church in a settlement. However, in the case of Saskatoon, where there are seven different ethnic parishes, the question arises as to why the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish has become the community of a choice for these people. Of course, different people have different motivations, but the interviews with some parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish bring some insights as to the reasons that lead people to this Cathedral.

Mr. Radu Stefureac, a Romanian who was born in Bucharest, arrived to Canada to study at the university.¹⁵³ As it is for many other international students, adapting to the new cultural environment was not an easy process for him. In Romania, Mr. Stefureac observed the religious practice in his family, attended Romanian Orthodox churches, and communicated with Romanian Orthodox spiritual elders. Therefore, when he arrived in Canada, he had some

151 Roberta Helmke, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, December 20, 2012, Saskatoon, SK.

152 Note that *Otet's'* is a Ukrainian word that means 'Father.'

153 Radu Stefureac, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, December 3, 2012, Saskatoon, SK.

problems in trying to resign to the fact that the majority of people around were Roman Catholics, Protestants, or unbelievers:¹⁵⁴

RS: Whenever there was fasting period, I felt not very well. All other people around me were not Orthodox and did not understand me. So, I felt not very welcome. Before I joined Ukrainian Orthodox community, I was alien – and became welcome.

By joining the Ukrainian Orthodox community Mr. Stefureac was able to immerse himself in a somewhat familiar environment. Mr. Stefureac compensated for his lack of Ukrainian language comprehension with a good knowledge of the sequence of church services and his personal attachment to the aesthetics of the liturgical life. During his interview, Mr. Stefureac referred a few times to the quality of choir singing, and the similarity of the church tones to the ones that are used in the Romanian Orthodox churches in Romania.¹⁵⁵ The parish priest eventually invited him to serve in the church sanctuary as an altar server. This new role within in the parish strengthened Mr. Stefureac devotion to the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon.

Because Romania is predominately Orthodox and neighbouring country of Ukraine, one could argue about the two-way impact of Romania on Ukraine and Ukraine on Romania. Eritrea, however, is located on a different continent. It would be difficult to claim that Ukraine and Eritrea have many cultural similarities. Despite that, the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Saskatoon has become a place of worship for a few Eritrean Orthodox families. With the intention to learn why an Eritrean has chosen the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Cathedral over other Orthodox parishes in Saskatoon, I approached one of the parishioners from Eritrea, Mrs. Wezenet Ghebremedhin.¹⁵⁶ Following one of the Sunday liturgies, I met with Mrs. Ghebremedhin and explained to her the goals of my project. She was open to the idea of being interviewed. When later, on a weekday, I called Mrs. Ghebremedhin, we arranged a meeting at her house. For Mrs. Ghebremedhin, an Eritrean Orthodox, after arrival in Canada in 1989, it was important to find an Orthodox church where she would be able to worship. In her search for an Orthodox church in Saskatoon, Mrs. Ghebremedhin ended up choosing the

154 Radu Stefureac, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, December 3, 2012, Saskatoon, SK.

155 There were some instances when the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon helped other ethnic groups Orthodox Christians. In 1958, the Cathedral was rented for free to the Greek Orthodox community in Saskatoon. See Udod, *Ukraïns'ka Hreko-Pravoslavna Katedra Presviatōi Troïtsi v Saskatuni*, p. 122.

156 Wezenet Ghebremedhin, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, December 12, 2012, Saskatoon, SK.

Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity as her major place of worship. Among the deciding factors that attracted Mrs. Ghebremedhin to this particular parish were the welcoming atmosphere within the parish and respect from the parishioners:¹⁵⁷

WG: I know the Ukrainian church seventeen years ago. At first, it was hard for me to understand the language, but after they explained in English [...] I made a lot of friends, I like the way... it is nice church, nice people. I am very happy in Canada. I came to educate my kids. So far I like in Canada [...]. They don't look at your colour [YK: Wezenet Ghebremedhin is pointing at her hand], and when you came to the church – go ahead, take a sit. Everything is perfect [...].

It is interesting to note that Mrs. Ghebremedhin made her confession of love for Canada when answering the question about her involvement in the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon and the reasons that prompted her decision to attend church services at this worshipping place. Integration into the Ukrainian Orthodox parish was placed within the context of her integration in Canadian society.

It must be added that the Eritrean Orthodox Church belongs to the Oriental Orthodoxy rather than the Eastern Orthodoxy. Oriental Orthodox Churches and Eastern Orthodox Churches share many things in common, but they are not in communion with each other. The reason for this division was the split between these branches of Christianity in the 5th century, when a number of Churches (known now as 'Oriental Orthodox') did not accept the canons of the Council of Chalcedon. Since that time, Oriental Orthodox Churches and Eastern Orthodox Churches have been living separately. Because of that, they formed different theologies and, more importantly, different rites.

Theological differences and the absence of communion between Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches are issues that most of ordinary Church members would be unaware of. Identification of a Church as Orthodox and similarities of the religious art, religious ritual, and religious practices to the Eritrean Orthodox tradition were much more important for them. The fact that UOCC follows the Julian calendar also contributed to the decision of Mrs. Ghebremedhin to attend the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity: "We are the same Orthodox. We have the same calendar. I think we are a little bit different – Catholic and Orthodox [...]."

157 Wezenet Ghebremedhin, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, December 12, 2012, Saskatoon, SK.

Mrs. Ghebremedhin's attendance at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral meant for her learning about the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition and adapting to the customs accepted within this religious tradition. At the same time, her involvement in the church life influenced the worshipping patterns at the Holy Trinity Cathedral in Saskatoon as well. For instance, at the Easter and Christmas church services, the priest greets parishioners by saying "Christ is risen" (on Easter) or "Christ is born" (on Christmas Day) in English, in Ukrainian, and in Tigrigna.¹⁵⁸ Mrs. Ghebremedhin's attendance of church services at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral resulted also in some minor adjustments in the religious rituals. From time to time, Mrs. Ghebremedhin brings specially made Eritrean bread for the priest to bless. This is how Mrs. Ghebremedhin explained the meaning of this specially made bread:¹⁵⁹

WG: [...] Every Sunday, after the church service back home [in Eritrea]... some people, when they come to church service, if they don't have food, they could give it to them. At the front door, they could get this bread. Here, I also bring the bread to church. But here everybody could enjoy it.

In the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition, it is also the custom to bring bread to church and then share it with everyone in the congregation. Yet, the purpose of bringing bread to church and the meaning attached to it is different. Almost every Sunday someone would bring a loaf of bread (*kolach*, a specially made sweet bread is often used for this purpose) in the memory of deceased relatives. At the end of the liturgy, a special memorial service is served over this bread. Therefore, these breads, which are placed on a special table at the front of the church, represent a fusion of different customs.

A year after the interview with Mrs. Ghebremedhin, she helped me to get in touch with another Eritrean lady Mrs. Bisirat Tesfamichel. Mrs. Tesfamichel agreed to be interviewed, but asked me not to make an audio-recording of the interview.¹⁶⁰ Because I had to record the interview by hand, the quality of the interviewing diminished. Mrs. Tesfamichel came to Canada in 1995, at 17 years of age, to join here her husband who had been working in Canada. The first child in Mrs. Tesfamichel's family was born in Eritrea. When the second child was born in Canada, a question arose where to baptize her. Due to the absence of Eritrean or Ethiopian churches in Saskatoon, they chose the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity as a

158 Tigrigna is one of the main languages spoken in Eritrea and the native language of Mrs. Ghebremeddhin.

159 Wezenet Ghebremdhin, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, December 12, 2012, Saskatoon, SK.

160 Bisirat Tesphamichel, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, November 19, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

place for this ceremony. The baptism of the child became a starting point for Mrs. Tesfamichel's family decision to attend this Cathedral. This is how Mrs. Tesfamichel explained the motifs that encouraged her personally and her family to choose the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon over others churches:¹⁶¹

YK: Why did you choose this particular church over other churches in Saskatoon?

BT: We grew up Orthodox, so we have to go to Orthodox church.

YK: What do you think are the reasons you chose this Ukrainian Orthodox parish over other churches in Saskatoon?

BT: Because everything is similar to the way it is at home. In Orthodox everything is similar. Of course, our service is in Tigrigna, not in Ukrainian. [...]

They look similar. It's the same. Only women cover hair with white scarf [in Eritrea]. And when you go to church, they take shoes out [BT refers here to a custom of Eritreans to enter churches barefooted] Other than that, it's similar.

When talking about similarities of the Eritrean church and Ukrainian church, Mrs. Tesfamichel emphasized the similarities in the interior of the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity and, especially, the icons on the walls of the church. Icons and the church interior in general became important compensations in a situation when the language of church services was not understandable. The way the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity looks led to the formation of an invisible link with churches in Eritrea.

Most newcomers to Saskatoon acknowledge traditional Byzantine architecture and icons in the Cathedral as the main things that attracted them to the Cathedral. Also, the high quality of the choir in the Cathedral has been mentioned as a very special component of the church service. Beautiful melodies and religious art at the Cathedral, thus, sometimes become more important for parishioners than the ability to understand the church service that is conducted mostly in the Ukrainian language, which many parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon do not easily understand.

4.5. The Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral Parishioners' Attitudes Regarding the Association of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada with the Ecumenical Patriarchate

When interviewing the parishioners of the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon, I was interested in getting their views on important events in the life of the

161 Bisirat Tesfamichel, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, November 19, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

UOCC. I asked parishioners to share their opinions on what they considered to be the most important events in the life of the UOCC in the last twenty-five years. A few of them noted the association with the Ecumenical Patriarchate as one of the crucial events in the life of the UOCC.

I elaborated in the first and second chapter in detail about the meaning of the principle of autocephaly for the UOCC. Autocephaly was understood not only in its most popular meaning as a status of a Church when a Primate of the Church does not report to a higher ranking hierarchy and, therefore, this Church deals with all issues independently. For many Ukrainian Orthodox Christians this status also symbolized self-reliance of Ukrainians in Canada and their possibilities to control the Church development directly. Any influences on the UOCC either from within Canada or from the hierarchs from outside Canada would be treated with suspicion. Therefore, many laity accepted unity with the Ecumenical Patriarchate with restraint.

Mrs. Pat Hawryliw, who has been an active member of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish since her young years, described the reasons behind dissatisfaction with jurisdictional changes of the UOCC:¹⁶²

PH: I know that [...] Bartholomew [the Ecumenical Patriarch]... I know that he doesn't interfere all that much, but at the same time, we have to approach him if we want changes within our Church or whatever else. When we were autocephalous, what we did we did, because that's the way it needed to be done for our Church. Once we become canonical, we are under some... we don't really have a Pope, but Bartholomew is like a Pope for us. And I don't agree with that, totally. We are independent of that. [...] It's the same thing with "being a part of the whole thing" is not necessarily serving the purpose of the Church here in Canada. We have to evolve differently.

The unity with the rest of Eastern Orthodox Churches means that the UOCC needs to recognize the fact that a large part of Ukrainian Orthodoxy is incorporated in the Moscow Patriarchate. This connection with the Moscow Patriarchate has been seen as the main obstacle to the creation of the autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine. Therefore, unity with the Eastern Orthodox world meant for some Church members a silent recognition by the UOCC of the structure of Eastern Orthodoxy in which Ukraine does not have its united autocephalous Church. Mr. Bohdan Kowal, in his early 60s, shared his disdain regarding the jurisdictional changes:¹⁶³

¹⁶² Pat Hawryliw, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, December 12, 2012, Saskatoon, SK.

¹⁶³ Bohdan Kowal (pseudonym), interview by Yuriy Kirushok, December 5, 2012, Saskatoon, SK.

BK: When that metropolitan came to Toronto [BK refers to the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Kyiv Patriarchate Filaret], our metropolitan was told not to accept him, because he wasn't canonical. Now, being Ukrainian nationalist, I am very offended by that. Because why wouldn't you... what is the chance of Ukraine's independence, when it's got a "big bear" coming down on it politically and religiously from Moscow, what are the chances of Ukraine's independence – almost nil. And you see that tie now moving toward Ukraine losing its independence, because it got the Russian Patriarch pounding on it, plus the Russian leadership who want him to retake it. And here we, as Ukrainian immigrants, seat here, our forefathers came from that country, we'd like it to be independent, but yet our goal here is diminished within our own Church.

Mr. Kowal referred here to a visit of Patriarch Filaret Denysenko from Ukraine to Toronto in April of 2012 (the conflicts around it are described in the chapter three). This statement points to a very close interconnectedness of religious and ethnic identities. Mr. Kowal linked religious life with political events and saw Ukrainian Orthodoxy as an important element of ethnic identity.

Mrs. Olena Boychuk, as many other active parishioners, also expressed support for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Kyiv Patriarchate in Ukraine. The politics of relationships between different Patriarchates are supposed to influence the UOCC that had been known for its independent stand. For instance, Mrs. Boychuk, an active member of the Ukrainian Orthodox Women Association, stated:¹⁶⁴

OB: Our ties to Constantinople, which I can appreciate, also then make us acknowledge the fact that the Moscow Patriarchate is what's in charge of the churches in Ukraine, and I have difficulty with that one. So, I have very mixed reaction to it. [...] I do not like the difficult position that has put our metropolitan in, say, when the head of the Kyiv Patriarchate came to Canada, without invitation, and without first asking for an invitation, I have to add that, and then just came, and then could not be acknowledged by our Church. That was very hurtful to me, and yet I do appreciate the reasons for that.¹⁴⁷

These statements demonstrate complex relations between ethnic and religious identity. Participants in my interviews saw the Church as an important institute that both provides a distinctive religious identity, but also must be responsible for the construction of an ethnic identity. Because self-reliance in all aspects of Church life and control over the Church by laity were the founding principles of the UOCC, the independence in decision-making is much more important for the parishioners than the unity with any other Churches.

164 Olena Boychuk (pseudonym), interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 2, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

The representatives of different generations within the parish had some differences, though, in perceptions of the Church's status. While my interviewees in their 60–70s tended to have stronger opinions against association with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, some of the interviewees in their 40–50s did not express the same strong feelings against associations of the UOCC with other Eastern Orthodox Churches. This category of parishioners recognized the need of the UOCC to be independent in decision-making and expressed their astonishment with the fact that bishops from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Kyiv Patriarchate may not be allowed to serve church services in the Ukrainian Orthodox churches in Canada. Yet, younger parishioners tended to trust the hierarchy of the UOCC in these matters.

Mr. Larry Balion, the president of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon, became an active member of the UOCC recently, so his views regarding both governance within the Church and the place of the UOCC within the realm of Eastern Orthodoxy have been constructed a bit differently than the views of the older parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish.¹⁶⁵

LB: [...] I wasn't the part of it at that time when we joined and became canonical with Constantinople [...]

There are some feelings, strong feelings about that within our churches.

YK: What is the reason for that?

LB: I really don't know. I think some people think we lost some control, because our church in Canada, our Orthodox Church, and the way it was established is so different from any other Orthodox jurisdiction. The way we conduct our governance is so different from other Orthodox Churches. That sort of sets us apart. Those... areas of control and how it was established, I think, still carry on today. People expect to have control of certain aspects and that we've joined Constantinople, some people think that we've lost some of that control of our affairs.

YK: Is it the case, in your opinion?

LB: In my opinion, I don't see it that way, I guess. I look at it, I...

Really, pre-Constantinople I was too young to understand what it really meant. I think being canonical with Constantinople gives us worldly acceptance in view of our parishes, and we have hierarchical approach to our governance, and we have our parish associated with all the other Orthodox parishes, other jurisdictions that are all under the umbrella of Constantinople. I think that's a good aspect.

¹⁶⁵ Larry Balion, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, January 3, 2013, Saskatoon, SK.

Mr. James Hrycuik, in his early forties, shared a similar view. He grew up in the town of Hafford in Saskatchewan, being involved in different aspects of Ukrainian cultural life of that town. A former active member of the Ukrainian Orthodox youth organization, Mr. Hrycuik was exposed to the religious education and discussion of the church matters.¹⁶⁶

JH: It's important that we are now recognized as a legitimate church, and I didn't know that we weren't for a long time, until I was old enough – seventeen-eighteen – going to *SUMK* workshops (Ukrainian Orthodox Youth of Canada – organization of Ukrainian Orthodox youth in Canada). We talked about these things, about where we stand as a Church, and we are not just... just made up kind of thing, which we were... we were kind of made up, we had no ties really to anywhere. It was really important for us to make those ties, so that we have a link, I guess, ecumenical link. I think it's important that we have that link.

Different attitudes to the issue of 'recognition' of the UOCC indicate the inter-generational identities differences. Those people who became active parishioners after the signing of the agreement between UOCC and the Ecumenical Patriarchate were much more receptive to the idea of close cooperation between different Eastern Orthodox Churches. They were not as concerned about having control of Church matters as older parishioners. The conciliarity of the Church governance was important to them, but they were also ready to be guided by the hierarch. Also, representatives of younger generations of parishioners approached the issue of governance and control over Church matters in a different way in comparison to older generations. For instance, in a couple of the conversations with parishioners, they made the suggestion that having a bishop in Saskatoon would potentially be helpful in coordinating the work of different Ukrainian Orthodox parishes and, therefore, expanding the influence of Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Saskatchewan.

4.6. Interpreting the Interviews: Negotiations of Ethnic and Religious Identities

When I began my discussion in this thesis, I deliberately decided not to concentrate heavily on the question why the UOCC has been steadily declining in its membership. Instead, I chose to look at the question of why the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition in Canada continues to attract people today and what church attendance means to the Church members. By concentrating in the interviews on the role of the Church in general and parish activities in particular, it was possible to get some insights into the interplay of religion and ethnicity.

¹⁶⁶ James Hrycuik, interview by Yuriy Kirushok, December 29, 2012, Saskatoon, SK.

In the introduction to this study, I wrote about my first visit to the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon and how I was perplexed to see people at the Ukrainian church of different ethnic descent who were speaking different languages. The UOCC was formed and developed as an ethnic Church concerned primarily with the needs of the Ukrainian population in Canada. I discussed this issue in chapter one. Integration of non-Ukrainians interested in the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition was not a priority for the UOCC parishes. However, as I explored in chapter two, attempts to bring attention to the needs of non-Ukrainians into UOCC policy marked the period of 1990–2013. My ethnographic work at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon confirms that the UOCC declaration of this intention at the national level was also reflected at the local level in Saskatoon. In their interviews, parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon emphasized that the parish should be welcoming to all people regardless of their background. Although the parish did not seem to have a special strategy to recruit members beyond the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada, there was an acceptance of those people of different descents who expressed interest in the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition.

There are different Orthodox churches in Saskatoon, including the ones where church services are conducted in English. For example, the Holy Resurrection parish in Saskatoon (in the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church in America) is an English-speaking community that unites people of Ukrainian, Russian, Romanian, Egyptian, Eritrean, Ethiopian, and Sudanese descent. Why do some immigrants prefer the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity as their place of worship then? “Feeling welcomed by the parishioners” was a key phrase repeated by interviewees who explained the reasons behind their decision to attend the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon. The welcoming atmosphere at this parish could be attributed to the fact that the parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish were descendants of immigrants who could empathize with those who arrived in Canada from different countries. On the other hand, I would link willingness of parishioners to welcome new members to a general identity shift within the UOCC. As a well-established Church with almost a hundred years history, the UOCC transformed into a Church that has to be able to serve the needs of all interested Canadians: both those born in Canada and new Canadians.

There is also another aspect that has made it possible for the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon to attract people of different ethnicities. I would point

out that some symbols that help followers of religion make sense of the world are common in different ethnic religious traditions. These similarities of symbols may be the deciding factors for people of different cultures to attend church services at the Ukrainian Cathedral. In this chapter, I cited excerpts from the interviews of Eritrean and Romanian parishioners who mentioned some symbols that were important to them. Applying Clifford Geertz's definition of religion as a system of symbols, we could state that the church's choral music, icons in the Cathedral, blessing of food at the church, and even celebration of great feast days according to the Julian calendar may be considered as symbols that formulate motivations and conceptions of general order for people.

Immigrants who try to make sense of their experiences in a host country tended to seek such religious symbols that reminded them of their countries of origin. A number of icons painted in Byzantine style might remind immigrants about similar icons in old churches in their countries of origin. Depictions of the saints and events from the Church history could help a worshipper relate to the higher power. At the same time, these icons provided a worshipper with the means to make sense of the incongruities of life in the host country, because well-known images create a familiar atmosphere similar to the houses of worship in their countries of origin. Hymns sung by church choirs might have a similar role. How these hymns were sung was more important for worshippers than what is sung. Those who did not understand Ukrainian listened to the hymns and could assign to these songs their own meanings. For example, my Eritrean interviewees mentioned that they followed the sequence of the liturgy using the prayer books with parallel Ukrainian and English texts. However, they also noted that they used the Bible written in Tigrigna. In this case, worshippers may choose texts at their discretion, not reflecting the sequence of the Ukrainian Orthodox liturgy.

The presence of non-Ukrainian immigrants influences the religious identities of Canadian-born parishioners. A sense of belonging to a larger group of Orthodox Christianity is slowly enhanced among parishioners. On the other hand, religious identity is also marked by understanding the uniqueness of the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition. Some of the features that make the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition unique are the Julian calendar, use of the Ukrainian language, and Ukrainian tunes in church services. These elements of a religious tradition are understood to be intrinsically rooted in the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition; therefore, further changes that would eliminate some of these elements are rejected by the members of the UOCC.

A few recent immigrants from Ukraine used the words “it feels like at home” to describe their motivations to attend the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon. Some interviewees admitted that they did not attend church in Ukraine regularly, but they did go to church in Canada on a regular basis. This information supports the statement of Stephen Warner that “religious identities often mean more to migrants away from home, in their diaspora, than they did before, and those identities undergo more or less modification as the years pass.”¹⁶⁷ It must be noted that the theology and dogmas were not necessarily what concerned immigrants in this study the most. Instead, a communal church service was the focal point in the weekly schedules that allowed people to make better sense of the world around them.

Church services help immigrants to connect with their countries of origin in a symbolic way, but church services also, in conjunction with the parish life, help immigrants to become new Canadians. Some things in the Ukrainian churches may be regarded as manifestations of the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition being recreated in a new way in Canada. There are some differences in the way the church space is organized in Ukrainian Orthodox churches in Canada and in Ukraine. For instance, Orthodox churches in Ukraine do not have pews, so the use of pews in the churches in Canada may be attributed to the influence from Roman Catholic and Protestant traditions. Hearing some parts of the liturgy repeated in Ukrainian and English serves also as a way to get in touch with Eastern Orthodoxy which is not only exclusively the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition but also a Canadian religious tradition. All this contributes to the way the immigrants from Ukraine construct their religious and ethnic identities. These immigrants remain in a strong set of real and symbolic relationship with the religious tradition of their country of origin, yet they re-negotiate their religious and ethnic identity by associating with the UOCC which helps them become new Canadians.

One may assume that unity with the Ecumenical Patriarchate could have instilled in the UOCC members a new type of religious identity characterized by an increased awareness of universality of Eastern Orthodoxy and a sense of belonging to this world. However, the interviews with the parishioners demonstrate that this structural change of the UOCC did not affect identities of the UOCC members in a way one could have expected. In fact, many parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish did not deem recognition

¹⁶⁷ Stephen Warner, *Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigration* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), p. 3.

of the UOCC by other Eastern Orthodox Churches as especially valuable. The disparity in understanding of this issue between clergy and laity may be explained by referring to the definition of religion proposed by Bruce Lincoln.¹⁶⁸ Bruce Lincoln argued that religion should be viewed as a multifaceted phenomenon with at least four domains: discourse, practice, community, and institution. One of these domains is religion as an institution. Religion as an institution regulates religious discourse, practices, and community, reproducing them over time and modifying them as necessary, while asserting their eternal validity and transcendent value. Officials, experts, and functionaries are authorized to speak and act on behalf of a community, but they are regularly caught up in serious contradictions between their own corporate self-interests and those of a community. Applying this definition to the UOCC, we could define Church hierarchy and Church leadership as officials who may be authorized to speak on behalf of a community. Therefore, contradictions between clergy and laity are inevitable. The UOCC leaders are trying to confirm “eternal validity of the community,” using Lincoln terms, by getting recognition from other Eastern Orthodox Churches. In receiving new status within Eastern Orthodoxy, the UOCC bishops and priests also satisfy their self-interests to be recognized everywhere in the world as legitimate Church leaders.

The changes within the UOCC in 1990–2013 are reflected in the ways the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox parish in Saskatoon functions nowadays. In this chapter, I discussed what the Church meant to the four groups of the parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox parish in Saskatoon: Canadian-born parishioners of Ukrainian descent, Canadian-born parishioners of non-Ukrainian descent, recent immigrants from Ukraine, and non-Ukrainian immigrants. Canadian-born parishioners of Ukrainian descent were the backbone of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish. Some of them have been attending the church since childhood, but some parishioners had to make a conscious decision to return to the Church. They defined the Church as both a spiritual and cultural centre. An association with the Church was a way to reinforce their ethnic Ukrainian identities. For immigrants from Ukraine and from other countries, the Church was one of the mediums that helped in their adaptation to Canadian society. The arrival of new immigrants from Ukraine slowed down the process of changes within the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition intended to appeal to the Canadian-born people of Ukrainian

168 Lincoln, *Holy Terrors*, p. 7.

and mixed ethnic descent. Therefore, the non-Ukrainians in the parish were receptive of the Ukrainian cultural elements in the liturgical and non-liturgical life of the parish.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have pursued two goals: to explore the institutional response of the UOCC to sociocultural change and to examine how the institutional practices and strategies of adaptation have impacted the spiritual lives of Church followers. To do so, I have addressed the following questions: how has the institutional identity of the UOCC changed over time and particularly in the period of 1990-2013; what are the features of this institutional identity change and how do these changes impact regular Church members' lives; how have the adherents of the UOCC defined for themselves meaning of being the members of the Ukrainian Orthodox community in Canada?

To answer these questions, I have investigated the general trends of the institutional development of the UOCC on one hand, and on the other hand I have focused on a specific parish, the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Saskatoon, as a case study. I chose this approach because it helped me to present the insights as to how religious and ethnic identities within the UOCC have been intersecting, reshaping, and evolving over the past twenty-five years. I pursued the interviews with the parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish with the hope to see the people's response to the changing identity of the UOCC. The Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish might not be seen as an average UOCC parish because it is known for its diversity: there are people of different generations and ethnic backgrounds attending this Cathedral. Therefore, I am aware that the experiences and views of the people from this parish may not match the views and experiences of parishioners in some other UOCC parishes. However, I deliberately chose to study this particular community because the life of this parish reflects the changes that are happening within the UOCC. A close look at this diverse community provides a better understanding what the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition means to the parishioners of different demographic groups. It also gives the notion of what the future patterns of the UOCC development might be.

In this thesis, I discussed the major features of the distinctive UOCC institutional identity: a special emphasis on the Ukrainian character of the Church, adherence to the Orthodox Christian faith and dogma, conciliar governance of the Church, and autocephalous status. All these features are important and deserve attention, but in this thesis, I have concentrated in detail on the questions of the Church's Ukrainian character, conciliar governance, and autocephaly, leaving out the matters of Orthodox faith and dogma. The questions how Church members

understand Orthodox teachings and how they interpret the Orthodox doctrine exceed the limits of this thesis and should be addressed in another research. Moreover, Church members seemed to pay more attention to the questions whether the UOCC efficiently serves in its role as a Ukrainian cultural institution, keeps its unique conciliar governing system, and maintains independence from foreign centres in decision-making, rather than delving into discussions of the relevance or importance of the Orthodox doctrine.

I defined the period from 1990 to 2013 as a time of significant changes in the UOCC. In particular, my research has demonstrated that the UOCC members have developed a new type of relationship with Canada, a new type of relationship with Ukraine, and a new type of relationship with the world of Eastern Orthodoxy. The new type of relationship with Canada has manifested itself in the development of the notion of the UOCC as a Canadian Church for Canadians (both Canadian-born and new Canadians who have immigrated to Canada recently). At the time of its conception and in the following years, the UOCC emphasized specially its role in promoting the Ukrainian language, education, culture, and in servicing Ukrainian cultural needs in general. In the last twenty-five years, in addition to this principle of Ukrainianness, the UOCC has started to accentuate its Canadian nature, positioning itself as a Canadian Church with a special loyalty and attachment to the Ukrainian form of Eastern Orthodoxy. This re-adjustment was manifested in the attempts to make easier the integration of the people of non-Ukrainian ethnic background into Ukrainian Orthodox communities (those who were born in Canada and those born outside Canada) and the gradual introduction of the English language into church services. It must be also added that the majority of the Church members are Canadian-born, and although they are proud and considerate of their ethnic Ukrainian heritage, most of them self-identify first of all as Canadians. This also contributes to further integration of the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition into the Canadian cultural context and the introduction of some modifications within it.

Although the process of the integration of the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition into the Canadian context continues, there is also an opposite process of re-configuration of relationships of the UOCC and its members with Ukraine. This has happened mainly due to the intensification of the transnational religious and cultural connections between Canada and Ukraine. Transnational religious flows include ideas, people, and resources that go from Ukraine to Canada and from Canada to Ukraine. Financial and moral support of Ukraine and churches in Ukraine from the UOCC members on one hand and their assistance in the integration of recent

immigrants from Ukraine into Canadian society on the other hand are just some examples of the new type of relationship toward Ukraine. For a long time, Ukraine was a part of the Soviet Union which limited connections between the Church in Canada and Ukraine. The independence of Ukraine opened opportunity for Canadians to travel to Ukraine and for Ukrainians to immigrate to Canada. Through these contacts with Ukraine and encounters with recent immigrants from Ukraine in Canadian parishes, Canadian-born parishioners have accentuated their own Ukrainian ethnic identities. Therefore, this intensification of connections with Ukraine may be seen as a catalyst to revitalize the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition in Canada.

The establishment of a new type of relationships with the world of Eastern Orthodoxy is another feature of identity shift within the UOCC. By associating with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the UOCC has completed the process of the formal recognition within the world of the Eastern Orthodoxy. In chapters three and four, I have presented the reasons that prompted this move of the UOCC to another jurisdiction and have emphasized different meanings that clergy and laity put into this association with the Ecumenical Patriarchate. I stated that it was especially important for the clergy of the UOCC to receive worldwide recognition for the Church. One could argue that the decision to be in formal unity with the rest of Eastern Orthodox Churches may potentially play an important role for the future of Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Canada. I have written before about the decreasing number of the UOCC members and the challenges this Church faces trying to adapt to the new sociocultural realities. In this context, declaration of unity with the Ecumenical Patriarchate and with the Eastern Orthodoxy in general could be a way to emphasize the Orthodoxy of the UOCC, not only the Ukrainian aspect of this religious tradition. This association with the Ecumenical Patriarchate means that the UOCC revoked its old principle of autocephaly and replaced it with the principle of autonomy and unity with the Eastern Orthodox word.

The question of autocephaly, as a matter of Church governance, is closely related to another principle of the UOCC – the principle of conciliarity. A special attention to the question of the laity's agency within the UOCC led many members to believe that association with any foreign centres could harm the old system of conciliar governance. An overview of the life of UOCC in 1990-2013 and fieldwork in the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon have demonstrated that the principle of conciliarity remains to be observed in the UOCC. This poses the question about 'elites' within the UOCC. In other Eastern Orthodox

Churches, there are institutionalized Church elites represented by bishops and priests, but in the UOCC, boundaries of the Church 'elite' are much more unclear. Laity, who were the main leaders of the Church at the time of its establishment, remain to have a powerful voice in the UOCC.

All these changes on the institutional level have influenced the way people define for themselves the meaning of being members of the Ukrainian Orthodox community in Canada. Interviews with parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish give a glimpse into what motivates people to attend church and what they look for in the Church. Canadian-born parishioners of Ukrainian descent are by far the largest group within the parish in Saskatoon. When asked about the reasons that inspired them to associate with the UOCC, these parishioners tended to emphasize the role of the Church as a community, a place that could be felt as home. Participation in Ukrainian Orthodox church services and non-liturgical parish life (for example, parish dinners with Ukrainian food being served) serves the purpose of socialization between people of similar background and reinforces their Ukrainian ethnic identity. Also, Canadian-born parishioners are able to raise self-awareness about their own ethnic identities through contacts with recent Ukrainian immigrants.

Interviews with recent immigrants from Ukraine confirm the argument that immigrants show more interest in religion in a host country (in this case – Canada) than in their homeland. One of the key reasons for this reaction is that a Ukrainian church in Canada could be a 'home away from home.' Native language in church services, familiar images in a church, and Ukrainian religious practices have helped recent immigrants to deal with the experience of immigration and have given opportunities to make a symbolic return to 'home' through a church. Ukrainian churches also help recent immigrants to adapt to Canadian society. Active participation of parishioners on all levels of parish life, volunteering at a church, and the need to pay levies are just a few examples that point out differences in how a church functions in Canada in comparison to Ukraine. Familiarization with these peculiarities in the comfortable environment of a Ukrainian church is one way that helps transition and integration of the recent immigrants into Canadian society.

Non-Ukrainian parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral value a church not only as a worshipping place, but also as a place for socializing. For non-Ukrainian Canadians, to associate with the UOCC quite often means to show support for family members

of Ukrainian descent. Through attendance at Ukrainian Orthodox churches, they develop a deeper knowledge and appreciation of both the Eastern Orthodox tradition and Ukrainian culture. The interviews with non-Ukrainian immigrants demonstrate that being unable to have church services in native languages, non-Ukrainian immigrants at the Cathedral identify closely with the Orthodox tradition. They are able to find religious symbols familiar to their native religious tradition in a Ukrainian Orthodox church. The socialization aspect is also crucial for non-Ukrainian immigrants. My interviewees attested that the friendly attitude of the parish members was one of the deciding factors leading them to join the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon.

Thus, the interviews with parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon have demonstrated that the need for self-identification and for finding their proper place in the world are among the primary reasons that lead people to associate with the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition in Canada. To be a member of the UOCC means to have a deep ‘sense of community,’ where the Church followers can meet with other people of the same or similar convictions.

The research on the history of the UOCC in 1990-2013 posed the question regarding the future of the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition and Eastern Orthodoxy in general in Canada. What are the implications of the identity shift for the UOCC? Can UOCC survive as an ethnic Church in Canada? The presence of different groups of parishioners in the Church, such as different generations of Ukrainians in Canada, requires the UOCC to take into account the needs of all of them. Further integration and enculturation of Ukrainians into Canadian society as well as some level of interest to Eastern Orthodoxy from non-Ukrainian Canadians will require from the Church new steps both in usage of the English language and in placing emphasis on those elements of Orthodox tradition that appeal to Canadians. It must be noted, though, that the separation of cultural and religious components seems to be unrealistic. The presence of representatives of different ethnic backgrounds at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon may serve as living evidence of the importance of traditional Ukrainian art, music, architecture, and ethnic religious tradition in general. In this context, further transformations of the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition or other Eastern Orthodox traditions into a hybrid Canadian Orthodox tradition are also an unlikely prospect. Therefore, I do not share the pessimism of those UOCC members who predicted the disappearance of the Ukrainian

Orthodox tradition from the religious landscape in Canada. Having said that, one could expect that the number of rural parishes will decrease and the UOCC will transform into an urban Church.

Urban churches, such as the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon, will remain important centres of the Ukrainian Orthodox tradition in Canada. Membership in these communities can be maintained both owing to the recent immigrants from Ukraine and to Canadians of Ukrainian descent. In regard to the institutional structure of Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Canada, I do not discount a scenario in which the UOCC will have to unite with other Orthodox Churches in Canada in one pan-ethnic Canadian Orthodox Church. Discussions about this possibility have already started on the level of Orthodox hierarchs in Canada. Also, some of the interviews conducted in this research suggest that Ukrainian Orthodox parishioners might be open to this idea if it could improve the missionary activities of the Church.

I hope my thesis can be seen as a contribution to the studies on Eastern Orthodoxy in Canada. The example of the UOCC demonstrates how Eastern Orthodox Churches try to fit into the Canadian religious landscape and what challenges they might encounter in this process. My research brings some insights into the ways religion and ethnicity interplay in Canada. It demonstrates the importance of the tight link between ethnicity and religion for the religious organizations that could have immigrants as potential parishioners. These close ties between religion and ethnicity may serve in favour of different religions because new immigrants and their descendants are interested in maintaining ethnic religious traditions in Canada. At the same time, religious traditions brought to Canada by immigrants eventually need to modify in order to survive and be attractive to different generations of Canadians. I see my research also as a contribution to the field of Ukrainian studies as it provides new information on the tendencies of the development of the Ukrainian Canadian community.

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The Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Saskatoon, view from the 20th Street, Saskatoon, April 2012. Photo taken by author.

**Research Agreement
Research Project**

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada (1988-2012): Changing Identities

Researcher:

Yuriy Kirushok
Graduate Student,
Department of Religion and Culture,
College of Arts and Science,
University of Saskatchewan
Phone: (306) 966-6744
Emails: yvk000@mail.usask.ca

Supervisor

Dr. Natalia Khanenko-Friesen,
Associate Professor,
Anthropology, Religion and Culture,
St. Thomas More College
Phone: (306) 966-6456
Email: Khanenko-Friesen@stmcollege.ca

Purpose and Objectives of the Research

This research focuses on the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada in the period of 1988-2012. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada has been known as one of the important centres of the Ukrainian ethno-cultural life in Canada. It was founded in 1918 by the group of Ukrainian settlers in Canada who wanted to keep Ukrainian traditions, culture and national identity in their church life. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada maintained its image of Ukrainian national church during the rest of the 20th century. However, significant changes occurred in the life of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada by the end of the 20th century. In 1990 the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada established spiritual and administrative ties with the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Owing to that, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada became recognized as a legitimate (canonical) Orthodox Church in the Eastern Orthodoxy worldwide. In 1991 Ukraine became independent sovereign state, which placed Ukrainians in Canada into new type of relationships with their "Old Country" – Ukraine. Moreover, socio-demographic profile of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada changed significantly: majority of church members were Canadian born, representing second, third, fourth or even sixth generations of Ukrainian Canadians. These changes caused significant identity shift within the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada.

My research aims to define new features of the church in the period of 1988-2012 and their impact on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada self-understanding (institutional identity). It will demonstrate how the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada balanced between its needs to be the "Ukrainian Church," "Canadian Church," and "canonical" church in the global Eastern Orthodox Christianity. It is essential to study religion locally and investigate lived experiences of the people. Thus, my research is seen as an attempt to answer the following research question: how transformations of the self-understanding of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada were implemented on the local (parish) and individual (parish member) levels?

Procedures

The Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon will be the major site for the collection of original data for this research project since this parish is a diverse and vibrant community of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. Research will consist of the participant observation at your parish and interviews with the parish members.

Participant observation is a method that allows understanding religious phenomena through attendance of the church and observation of what happens in the community. Using this method I will be able to make conclusions about enactment of religion in ceremonial and everyday life. In particular, I will look at community's demographics, administration of the parish, features of the religious art and architecture, religious (liturgical) activities, educational activities, cultural and social events, activities of the affiliated organizations.

Participant observation is not intended to describe all actions of individuals, but rather to define general patterns in community life. My reflections will be noted in the fieldwork journal: based on them I will make conclusions about distinctive features of this community and dynamics of its development.

I also plan to conduct life story interviews with the parishioners of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral. Life story interviewing technique implies that the informants will be given the initiative to lead the

conversations and present their life experiences using their own discretion in the choices of topics. Interviews will deal with the personal experiences of the interviewees as members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. It is expected to extend invitation to participate in the interviews to the people who people that could suit the following criteria: Canadian born people of Ukrainian background; people who immigrated to Canada from Ukraine after 1991; people of other ethnic backgrounds attending this church.

Funding

My graduate studies in the Master's program in Religion and Culture and this thesis project are supported financially by the St. Thomas More College Graduate Teaching Fellowship, Marusia and Michael Dorosh Master's Fellowship, Roman and Sonia Stratychuk Graduate Scholarship. These awards were granted to me by independent awards committees on a competitive basis. I will not get any special financial outcome after completion of this project.

Potential Risks

There are no foreseeable risks to you by participating in this research. However, spirituality and religious matters are regarded as sensitive topics. Thus, you do not have to answer the questions which you are not comfortable with. You may also stop the interview at any time you want.

Potential Benefits

Ukrainian Orthodox community's involvement in this research can help to contribute to the body of knowledge about the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada and Ukrainian Canadian community. It is hoped that this study will provide a better understanding of the dynamics in the development of the ethnic religious churches in the contemporary multicultural Canadian society.

Confidentiality

Field notes of the participant observation will not have referrals to the actions of some individuals. They will only contain information about community life in generalized and aggregated form. Therefore, parishioners will remain confidential and anonymous in this project. Interview participants will have an option to use their real names or pseudonyms.

Field notes of the participant observation at your parish will be used in my thesis, and, potentially, in conference papers, journal articles or oral presentations on the research results.

Follow up

If you wish to know about the research progress and results of the study, please feel free to email me at yvk000@mail.usask.ca or call me at (306) 966-6744.

After completion of project I will inform Parish council where and how it is possible to find my thesis. I will be also happy to present research results in the oral presentation to the parish members.

Questions and Concerns

This project was reviewed on ethical grounds by the U of S Behavioral Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding rights of research participants may be addressed to the Research Ethics Office toll free at 1-888-966-2975 or ethics.office@usask.ca.

Informed Consent

By signing this Research agreement I acknowledge that procedures of the proposed study have been reviewed and understood by the Parish council. Parish council grants permission to the researcher, Mr. Yuriy Kirushok, to conduct participant observation and oral history interviews at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon.

Researcher's signature: _____

Date: _____

Parish representative's signature _____

Date: _____

Interview Guide
(Interview with the members of
The Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon)
Research Project

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada (1988-2012): Changing Identities

Researcher:

Yuriy Kirushok

Graduate Student,

Department of Religion and Culture,

College of Arts and Science,

University of Saskatchewan

Phone: (306)966-6744

Email: yvk000@mail.usask.ca

This Interview Guide is a draft plan that helps to conduct life story interview. However, not all questions from the Interview Guide will be asked during the interview. Interviewees will have the opportunity to tell the stories they choose to tell. They will emphasize the experiences in their lives which they consider to be important. I will only ask those questions that could help to develop the narratives of the interviewees. I use Robert Atkinson's methodology according to which the life story interviews should not include discussions over theoretical approaches or be guided by specific research questions.¹⁶⁹ I will build the interview in the way to avoid imposing my assumptions on the informants. The interview will consist of 5 phases.

Opening phase

The opening phase of the interview includes a short explanation of informant's role in the study and open general question.

- Thank you very much that you agreed to participate in this project. This research focuses on the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada in the period since 1988 to 2012. In particular, I am examining how transformations of the church's self-understanding were implemented on the parish and individual levels? It would be great if you could share your personal experiences as a church member and your opinions on the church's development in this time period (since 1988 to 2012). However, I am also interested to find out about the story of your life in general. So, could you please tell me a little bit about yourself?

Biographical information (Introductory phase)

This section is not intended to collect specific personal facts about the informant. Biographical information is essential to recognize the influence of family, national and social origin, education and political orientation on the personal experiences of a church member in the adulthood. The aim of the introductory phase is also to "break the ice" between the interviewer and interviewee.

1. Where you were born? What was it growing in your family like?
2. What was it like growing up in your family?
3. Tell me about your parents. How did your parents make their living?
4. Do you have siblings? What were your relationships like?
5. What language did you use most frequently in your childhood?
6. What family or cultural celebrations, traditions, or rituals were important in your life?
7. How would you describe religious atmosphere in your home?
8. Did you attend religious services as a child? How would you describe your personal religious experience in your childhood?
9. What was growing up in your neighborhood like? Who were your childhood friends?
10. What were your school years like?
11. What did you do for entertainment?
12. What clubs, groups or organizations did you attend?

¹⁶⁹ Robert Atkinson, "The Life Story Interview as a Mutually Equitable Relationship," in *The Sage Handbook of Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft. Second Edition* (London: SAGE Publications, 2012), p. 121.

In the preparation of this Interview Guide I consulted and adapted the questions from the questionnaire presented by Paul Atkinson in his book – Robert Atkinson. *The Life Story Interview* (London: Sage Publication, 1998), p. 43-53.

13. Can you tell me about the people who shaped and influenced your life the most?
14. Can you tell me about your first experience of leaving home?
15. Can you tell me about your first college or professional experience?
16. Do you have your own family now? Can you tell me a little bit about it?

The Role of the Church in Personal Life. Experiences of being a member of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral Parish in Saskatoon

This phase narrows down the life story to the role of religion and specifically the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada in the person's life. I will encourage the informant to share personal experiences of being a member of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon.

1. How would you describe the role of the church in your life now?
2. How did you become the member of this church? What motivates you to attend the church now?
3. What do you think are the reasons other people attend this church?
4. What spiritual needs are fulfilled in the Orthodox Church?
5. What do the Orthodox doctrines, sacraments and traditions mean to you?
6. What are you able to learn for yourself attending the church?
7. Why did you choose Ukrainian church over other churches?
8. Describe the importance of the church's identification with Ukrainian culture.
9. What language, in your opinion, has to be used in the religious services?
10. Can you name the feasts or church events that you respect the most?
11. What are the dates that Christmas, Easter and other religious holidays should be celebrated on?
12. Do you hold some position in the parish? Do you participate in decision-making processes in the parish?
13. How is the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish in Saskatoon unique? Can you compare it with other Ukrainian Orthodox parishes or other religious communities in Saskatoon?
14. Tell me about the elements of the parish life that are the most appealing to you.
15. Can you describe the relationships between your parish and other Ukrainian Orthodox parishes or other ethnic Orthodox parishes?
16. What is the role of the Ukrainian Orthodox parish in Saskatoon in the community of Saskatoon in general?

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada through the eyes of its members

This phase of the interview is topic oriented. After discussing biography and role of the church in the interviewee's life, I will move on to the questions about personal opinions on the development of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada.

17. If you were asked to tell a short history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada since 1988, what would be the key events that you could point out to?
18. Have you noticed some changes within your Orthodox community and Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada at large in the time you have been attending this church?
19. Can you name at least three new features in the church life in comparison with your childhood years (youth years)?
20. Have you been following news of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, in particular, about decisions of the General Councils and Consistory Board?
21. Have you ever attended General Councils of the church or some other church conventions? Can you tell me about your impressions of those events? What are your personal thoughts regarding decisions that were made at these meetings?
22. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada established spiritual and administrative ties with the Ecumenical Patriarchate. What is your attitude to this fact?
23. What does the connection with the Ecumenical Patriarch mean to you as a member of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada?
24. What is your attitude towards other ethnic Orthodox churches in Canada?
25. What is your attitude to the call to convert new people (including people of various ethnic descents) to the Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Canada?
26. How do you see the current role of the church in the Ukrainian Canadian community?
27. How would you describe your relationship to Ukrainian culture and Ukraine as a country?
28. How did you react to the fact that Ukraine became a sovereign state in 1991?
29. Have you ever been to Ukraine? Can you tell me about your trip to Ukraine?
30. Do you have relatives or friends in Ukraine that you keep in touch with?

31. What is your stand on the current division of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy in Ukraine?

Closing Questions

In the closing part of the interview the informant will be asked to summarize the interview and to add anything that seems important.

32. Where do you see your parish and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada in the next five years?
33. What are the areas in the church life you would like to change?
34. Thank you very for your contribution to the project. Is there anything you would like to add to our conversation?